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AUGUST 8
1944

NEW MASSES

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WHAT ABOUT GERMANY?

by HANS BERGER

HITLER'S LAST TRUMP

by MAJOR GENERAL M. GALAKTIONOV

MAN FROM MISSOURI

The story of Senator Truman—by POLITICUS

SUMNER WELLES TAKES HIS STAND

by RALPH BOWMAN

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: *Are Japanese-Americans Dangerous?* by Carey McWilliams; *Our Calvinist Legacy*, by Francis Franklin.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

AN NM by-line you've noticed often is Sender Garlin's—it's to be seen with regularity in these pages, and most of you know his work well by now, in other periodicals and pamphlets. He comes, originally, from Glens Falls in upstate New York, and he's been lots of places since. Studied law once, but decided to practice in another profession. In 1927, after working on newspapers in different parts of the country, Garlin joined the *Daily Worker* staff—first as a reporter, later worked as city editor, then feature editor. Four years a correspondent in the Soviet Union (1935-39) followed; he wrote for the *Daily*, the San Francisco *People's World*, and the Chicago *Midwest Record*, traveling all over the USSR. Incidentally, he was the only American reporter who attended all three Moscow trials. He once wrote a story about letters from Russian readers to editors of the Soviet press, which appeared in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* without his by-line. Shortly after, he got a querulous letter from Harrison George of the *People's World*: "Why can't you write like that?"

Back to New York to the *Daily*, finally as their Albany correspondent. Between newspaper assignments Garlin has done several well known pamphlets: *The Real Huey Long, The Truth about "Reader's Digest"* (the initial blast in a campaign which has become national) and the recent *Is Dewey the Man?* He has the right kind of sense of humor, is working on a book whose title he won't tell us, and is at present public relations director of the Communist Political Association of New York State.

"A TALE OF TWO CONVENTIONS"—that's what A. B. Magil told all over principal cities of the Midwest this past week. And he hasn't been whispering it—from what we hear. So far, the details are in on only one meeting—that's Chicago—but they're swell. Six hundred people attended. Not counting Magil. There was a showing of *Negro Soldier*, the War Department's splendid film; there was a woman speaker from the Treasury Department, and the crowd hung on in a hot Chicago night, than which there is nothing like, until nearly twelve. The collection was good. (We haven't the exact figures.) The Friends of NEW MASSES sponsored it, and so far Chicago has had three letters from other cities who want to form the same sort of groups. Don't you? More on this later.

SPEAKING of NM's editors, one of the members of our contributing board to whose articles you look forward and respond eagerly has been put forward as Communist candidate for Parliament in the next General Election to be held in Great Britain. R. Palme Dutt, vice-chairman of the British Communist Party, will oppose L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the Sparkbrook Division of Birmingham. We'll keep you posted on this, as soon as more information is available.

WE HOPE you'll notice the back cover this week—it's an offer of two lithographs by Gropper, and we've just seen them. They're really a bargain at ten dollars apiece, and if your living room needs an added touch, this is it. Speaking of such, next week we'll tell you the full story of the Hollywood art auction. Joe Foster has just come back from the West Coast after promoting one of the most successful of NM's extra-curricular affairs. His movie reviews will be resumed next week (McClough has been pinch-hitting since he's been away) and very shortly there'll be an article by Foster on "What the Movie Industry Faces in the Postwar Period." He interviewed directors, producers, and actors, and you'll be interested in his first hand account of the film industry's very special problems and its reconversion.

THE other day we had a letter from Miami which speaks for itself: "A group of friends gathered at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Schendloff to say hello to their young son home on furlough. While having a good time we thought it would be a grand idea to do something worthy for NM. And that is how it started. Our hosts gave the first twenty-five dollars, and Mr. Mindlin of Ft. Lauderdale gave another twenty-five. Others gave ten dollars and others wanted subscriptions." The wind-up? Approximately $200. Which proves that Florida is more than a vacation spot.

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NEW MASSES

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WHAT ABOUT GERMANY?

By HANS BERGER

AFTER the defeat of Nazism, there will still be a Germany with about 60,000,000 Germans, with rich natural resources, a highly developed industry and technology, powerful industrial and financial organizations, highly skilled workers, and a number of well-trained engineers, scientists, and technicians. No matter how much destruction the war has brought and will undoubtedly bring to it, Germany with its powerful economic and military potential will not cease to exist in the heart of Europe. For good or for ill, in a progressive or a reactionary sense, Germany and the Germans will directly or indirectly remain a significant factor in European and world politics.

If some or all of the victor powers adopt a policy toward defeated Germany similar to that followed from 1918 to 1939, then German imperialism will in the course of time have a rebirth and, sooner or later, the danger of a new German aggression will arise.

Most of the basic reasons for the rise to power of Hitlerism are to be found in internal German developments between 1918 and 1933. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the victorious Allies of 1918 followed a policy toward Germany which favored the reactionary elements in the country and those who collaborated with them against the German people, thus hastening the birth of German imperialism.

The victorious Allies in 1918 did not and could not, from the very imperialist nature of World War I, think of giving genuine support to the German democratic movement against the generals and bureaucrats. On the contrary, in their hostility to a German people's uprising they were more or less in solidarity with the German reactionaries and those Social Democratic leaders who had placed themselves at the head of the German revolution—in order, with the aid of the generals, to behead it before it became a serious menace to German imperialism. The statesmen of the victorious coalition in 1918 feared nothing more than the victory of democracy and the wrath of the peoples against those leaders who had plunged them into war. For example, the only thing that made an impression on tough-minded Marshal Foch in the armistice negotiations in the Forest of Compiegne was the demand of Erzberger, speaking for the German delegation, for enough machineguns with which to keep the German workers down. The France of 1940 paid the penalty for having granted that request. And who can forget that in 1919 Admiral Horthy's dictatorship over the Hungarian people was established with the help of the Allies?

One of the most important factors determining the attitude of the victor powers of 1918 toward Germany was their hostility toward the newly created Soviet Union and their hope of turning defeated Germany into a bulwark and gendarme against the first land of socialism. As is well known, this policy reached its climax at Munich in 1938. Moreover, differences within the camp of the victorious nations—England's struggle against French hegemony on the European continent, commercial and financial rivalries, etc.—prevented them from adopting a united policy vis-a-vis defeated Germany. Thus, agents and emissaries of the various powers made contact with German reactionary groups after 1918 and intrigued against each other.

THE international situation was closely bound up with Germany's internal situation: the split in the German working class, and the passivity and anti-Bolshevism inculcated in a majority of the workers by the leaders of German Social Democracy. In time, the most diehard sections of German imperialism, utilizing the National Socialist Party, won their victory over the German nation and came close to winning over the peoples of the world. Just as the most reactionary elements of German imperialism were in a position within Germany to set the various classes against each other, to annul in practice every progressive law and measure, and to make the Weimar Republic and the German workers responsible for every crisis and catastrophe they had provoked —above all, Germany's military defeat —so, on the international scene, they systematically exploited the differences between the victor powers and, above all, their hatred of the Soviet Union. And eventually they brought about a state of affairs in which they felt that they could launch their campaign for world domination under the most favorable conditions.

There is no doubt that these same forces will again, after the overthrow of Hitlerism, systematically attempt to attain their eternal goal of world mastery. In this they hope to find favorable opportunities in developments inside Germany as well as outside—opportunities similar to those they exploited from 1918 to 1939.

Thus the main problem, as I see it, for the victorious coalition in this war with respect to a defeated Germany is to avoid any splits among the United Nations. In other words, the policy of Teheran must be carried to its logical conclusions. Since the destruction of Nazism is only possible by a maximum of military and political cooperation among the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, the *guarantee* that there will be no future German aggression lies in a continuation of this cooperation in the period after military victory. The attempts of representatives of beaten German imperialism to pose as guardians of law and order, as a bulwark against the USSR, and as potential gendarmes against the freedom of other peoples will remain futile so long as the United Nations are guided by the unequivocal principle of Teheran.

It is of course dangerous to overlook the fact that the Munichmen in Britain and their even stronger counterparts in the United States will do their utmost to

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save what they can of German Nazism. How could these people bear a grudge against the Germans who are responsible for the death of ten to fifteen million Soviet citizens? How could they dream of abandoning those who have brought so much destruction to the land of the Soviets? Make no mistake about it: they will play on every note and utilize every form of demagogy, in their efforts to make us pity the fate of the hangmen. And what does it matter to these British and American reactionaries that German imperialism, not completely smashed and allowed to revive, shoots and murders in *every* direction, *not only in the direction that suits them?* Or that this imperialism considers not only one land and people, but every land and every people as its legitimate prey?

American and British accomplices of Nazism are getting support from the campaigns of reactionaries, from narrow-minded labor leaders, Social Democrats, and confused liberals. For how else can we interpret the protests of William Green, Matthew Woll, and Robert Watt against "the enslavement of the German workers" and "the enslavement of Germany"—protests plainly aimed at the Soviet Union? These circles are already helping to muddy the waters in which the German imperialists and their Anglo-American accomplices will operate.

The main question is not "the enslavement of the German workers." Nobody wants that. And the German workers need no protection coming from virulent American enemies of the Soviet workers; they do not have to be defended against the country in which the workers have set up the first socialist state on earth. Moreover, it is alien to the USSR to "want to enslave" anybody.

The key question in Germany is rather: how shall a new international order be established and developments within Germany favored—or, if necessary, forced—so as to render impossible any new German aggression?

THE solution of this question is vital for the peace and security of the world. It is particularly urgent for those peoples within the immediate orbit of attack of an aggressive Germany. If it is not solved, in ten to twenty years the world will be faced with a new outburst by German imperialism.

The solution of this question is also in the interests of the German workers who thus far, despite all their past struggles, have been unable to defeat their historic foe, German imperialism, and who have twice within a generation been led into war with the most terrible material, physical, and moral consequences for themselves.

To solve this question, there are favorable conditions which did not exist in 1918: cooperation among the great powers, particularly between the leading capitalist nations and the Soviet Union; the Anglo-Soviet and Czech-Soviet alliances; the prospects of a new democratic Poland living in friendship with the USSR; the development of genuine democracy in many European countries, in which democracy existed only formally or not at all; the harrowing experiences the nations have suffered at the hands of the Nazis and their quislings; the greater maturity of the labor movement, bought at such a high price; and, last but not least, the incontrovertible fact that the Soviet Union is one of the mightiest powers on earth, with an immeasurably enhanced prestige.

All these make it almost inconceivable that after the victory over Nazism a *cordon sanitaire* can be built against the USSR, behind which German imperialism would again grow strong. Germany's frontiers, fixed by the United Nations, will be with nations that are all resolved to nip in the bud any new German attempt to sabotage or avoid the obligations placed upon her. Even

In the Shadow of the Third Battle

In the fifth winter some were troubled by the spring of the year that was passing;
Some remembered the foreign city, the black quarter where men were unburied;
Some imagined the remaining trees were seeking to bloom when the rubble blew up.

It is not the spare facts that haunt us: they are nearly lost in the wild labyrinth
Of the year. It is not even a story. It is an act, an outline of a grave:

April 19 thirty-five thousand Jews opened fire on
the Germans from the tenements of the Warsaw ghetto
the destructive power of the Third Reich closed on
the circle of stone
the water mains were cut the Jews fought to the end
May 25 silence was shed as from a lamp in the
smoking street the wounds of Europe were open

Surrounded in the wrecked city, invoiced as freight from the occupied lands,
A secret weapon was assembled among them. Afterward it was not found
In the ruin; nor was a casual flame lit at the tomb of the unknown civilian.
The second battle of Warsaw cannot terminate as a work of art;
It would be presumption to build a monument over that extreme spirit.
The brain alone will not find the point of their insistent death;
The heart unused must come from exile to give us peace.

The dead of Warsaw, with us or without us, enter the legends of the people,
The sleepless colonies, the men resistant on all racial islands,
The solid continents emergent from the age of broken stone.

DON GORDON.

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after the occupation of Germany, the Red Army and the democratic armies of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and France will stand guard for all nations on Germany's boundaries to answer any revival of German aggression. For whatever new world organization and security system is evolved in the postwar period, it cannot be a revival of the moribund League of Nations, which became an organization for systematic surrender to aggressors and for the prevention of a system of collective security.

The principles of the Atlantic Charter and the right of self-determination for all peoples will have to be applied realistically to a defeated Germany, to prevent these principles from becoming a weapon in the hands of German imperialism. This must be said to those who would like to turn these principles into a weapon against the USSR and a safeguard of the imperialist forces in Germany. The Atlantic Charter must guarantee the freedom and independence of peoples, and not help the vanquished aggressors to escape scot-free. The application of the Atlantic Charter to a defeated Germany must be subordinated to the principle of guaranteeing security and free democratic development to the peoples of the world.

The formal application of democratic principles can lead to extremely dangerous consequences, as we see from the treatment of German prisoners of war in our American prison camps. The result is that Nazis and Gestapo agents dominate the mass of the prisoners, terrorize and at times murder anti-Nazi Germans, prevent anti-Nazi literature from circulating in the camps, and make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to reeducate the bulk of the prisoners. Here is an example in miniature of how the formal application of democratic principles leads in practice to the preservation of Nazi influences.

"The Prisoner," by B. Handelsman.

With respect to a defeated Germany, the United Nations cannot indulge in such dangerous experiments as we have made in our American prison camps. For the risks are far too great. The nations cannot sit back with folded hands and hope that the Germans themselves will do everything necessary to uproot Nazism, assure peace and the fulfilment of all obligations placed upon Germany. To give Germans the right of self-determination after the victory over Hitlerism, without interfering too strongly in their affairs, as Senator Nye, for example, proposes, means to give all the advantages to the forces of German imperialism, the Nazis, the generals, and the masses they have corrupted, against the genuinely democratic forces. German imperialism and the Nazi party have the closest ties: many of the Nazi leaders such as Goering have become big industrialists; while many of the big industrialists, bankers, and Junkers have become Nazis. And these elements have a monopoly of all organizations in present-day Germany. They dispose of millions of Germans in the state, police, military, and business apparatus. They control the press, radio, and instruments of education. They have poisoned many more millions of Germans, including broad sections of the workers, with the venom of National Socialism. The organized opposition in Germany can exist only in small groups, generally working separately from one another.

Under such conditions, to give the Germans the right of self-determination means guaranteeing self-determination for German Nazism. Not before Germany is cleansed of all active Nazis and their organizations, not before the influence and strength of the German anti-Nazi movement has been exerted, not before new democratic organizations arise, not before the German anti-Nazis have shown themselves capable and willing in deeds to lead Germany, to reeducate Germany, and to fulfill all the obligations placed upon Germany—not before can we seriously speak of a Germany ripe for self-determination and for the establishment of a German democracy deriving its strength from the reeducated masses of the German people.

However, one may judge the possibilities and tempo of such a development, it is clear that it cannot occur on the morrow of defeat. First of all, Germany will have to be occupied by the United Nations and German Nazism exterminated. Here the Allies will no doubt be aided by consistent anti-Nazis, as was the case in Italy and as is the case in German anti-Nazis circles in exile throughout the world. But the disarmament of Germany, the tracing of new boundaries with a view to international security, reparations, the destruction of the Nazi state, army, party, and all their organizations, and the elimination of all those responsible for the Nazi dictatorship—*these are all measures that the United Nations will have to carry out, regardless of the amount of support they find for them among the Germans themselves.*

This realistic application of the Atlantic Charter to a defeated Germany has nothing to do with Vansittartism or with the theory of "the innate barbarism of the German race." There is probably no one who has fought Nazism, both in theory and practice, more relentlessly than Joseph Stalin. There is probably no one who is less ready to condone workers or nations, once they have become the tools of reaction, than Joseph Stalin. Hence his declarations of Feb. 23, and May 1, 1942, where in a few short sentences he demolishes these racial theories about the Germans, are significant.

Stalin asserted in orders of the day:

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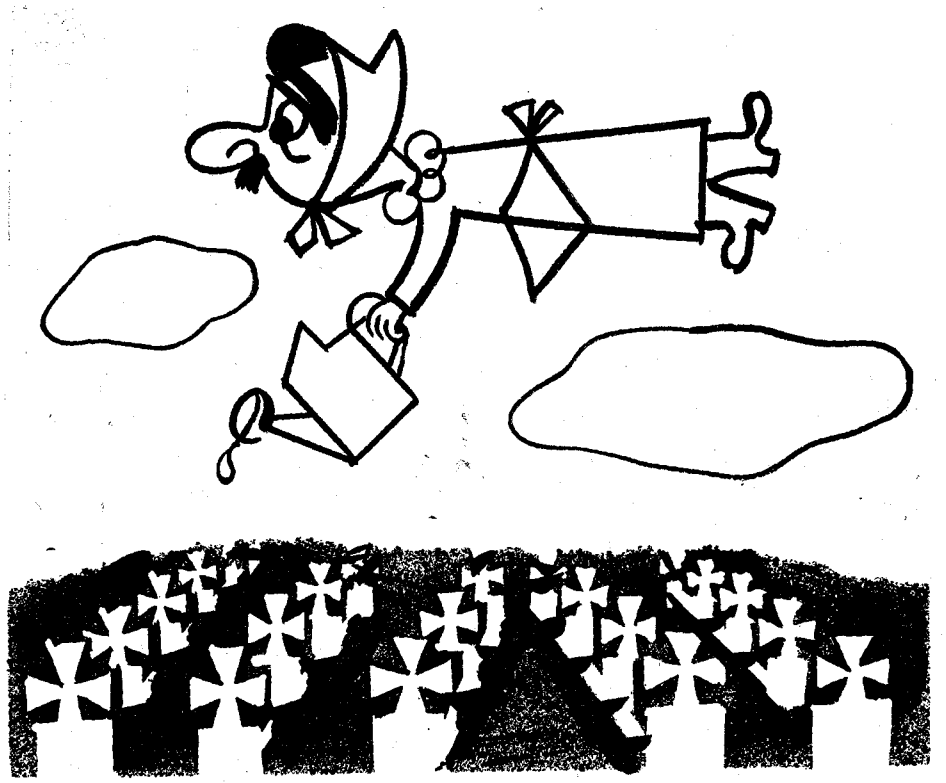

Jamison

Mary, Mary, quite contrary—
How does your Berchtesgaden grow?

"Occasionally the foreign press engages in prattle to the effect that the Red Army's aim is to exterminate the German people and destroy the German state. This is, of course a stupid lie and a witless slander against the Red Army. The Red Army has not and cannot have such idiotic aims. . . . It would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German state. History shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state remain." (Order of the day, Feb. 23, 1942.) "Hitler, Goebbels, Ribbentrop, Himmler, and other rulers of present-day Germany are but watchdogs of the German bankers and place the latter's interests above all other interests. In their hands the German army is a blind tool, destined to shed its own blood and the blood of other peoples, to cripple itself and others, not for the sake of Germany's interests, but for the enrichment of German bankers and plutocrats." (Order of the Day, May 1, 1942.)

IN THE final analysis, Vansittartism arises from the disappointment of British reactionary circles that National Socialism was not content to attack the Soviet Union, but struck against all peoples, including Britain. But Vansittartism not only aids Dr. Goebbels in his propaganda; it can be a serious menace after victory. For if all Germans are treated alike, many dangerous mistakes can be committed—and they will be grist to the mill of the German imperialists. If United Nations troops treat consistent anti-Nazis of various political tendencies in the same manner as Himmler and his Nazi agents, if they fail to see in the German anti-Nazis, however strong or weak they may be at first, *the elements that represent the core of a reborn democratic Germany*, then there is no hope for such a genuine German democracy to come into being.

And in the last analysis, this democratic Germany is the best guarantee against the rebirth of an aggressive Germany. If Vansittart's theory is correct, and anti-Nazis are the same as Nazis, then the United Nations will rely in practice on those Germans who have cleverly adapted themselves to "unfavorable conditions," rather than on those who have been tested anti-Nazis. Vansittartism offers no guide as to what we must destroy and what we must encourage in order to bring about a peaceful, democratic Germany. Insofar as Vansittartism asserts that we cannot rely solely on the democratic development inside Germany to guarantee the peace, it is of course correct. No serious person will dispute this thesis. But when it declares that a democratic development within Germany is impossible, it bars the road to such a development, which is historically quite possible.

Various quarters have formulated the most detailed plans as to what should be done with Germany after the war. But I cannot attach too much importance to these detailed analyses. For we are still in no position to pass judgment on a decisive question concerning the treatment of a defeated Germany. *The future alone will show what the course of Germany's internal development will be when Hitler is defeated and total defeat knocks at the gates of Germany. No one at present can say* with certainty whether only a small minority of Germans or many millions among them will learn the lessons of defeat and proceed to build up a new Germany on a broad democratic basis.

There is no doubt that if the latter occurs, the task of the United Nations will be greatly facilitated. For if millions of Germans actively help to exterminate Nazism, bring the war criminals to trial, build a democratic order, fully recognize Germany's duty to make good what has been destroyed, and offer guarantees against any rebirth of German imperialism—the solution of the German problem will undoubtedly be found much more quickly than would otherwise be the case. If this does not happen, Allied bayonets will be the educators of Germany for a long time to come. But the reeducation of Germany, no matter how much it can be encouraged by the examples of other nations, can in the final analysis only be the work of the most progressive Germans themselves, whose task it is to cleanse Germany of Nazism and the filth of centuries.

Nazi dictatorship and wars of aggression were the methods by which the German imperialists sought to solve "the German problem" at the world's expense. This imperialism cannot be reformed or reeducated; it must be beaten, exterminated, and prevented from ever arising again. But the situation of the German working class is quite different. No matter how much historic guilt it bears, no matter how low it has sunk, it can be reeducated. It can reeducate itself and the German people, making it possible for Germany to live together in peace with the other nations. The German working class has not yet spoken the last word in Germany's evolution into a progressive and civilized nation. This word was abruptly silenced by the Nazi counter-revolution, which crushed and demoralized the German labor movement. But in my estimation it would be wrong to give up the hope that the German workers will yet speak this word, even though it is late and so many tragic mistakes and defeats have already occurred.

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MAN FROM MISSOURI

By POLITICUS

Washington.

THE publicity staff of Governor Bricker, the Republican vice presidential candidate, made valiant efforts to build him up as a product of a plain farm background, a man of the people, as Bruce Minton described in a recent article. In Mr. Minton's opinion the whole effort reeked with corniness. On the other hand, in the Democratic vice presidential candidate we have the authentic product. Yet Sen. Harry Truman of Missouri isn't thought of in such terms. He isn't thought of as a personality at all. He has become an institution. As head of the Truman committee, or the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, he has become a symbol. The public has learned to place great confidence in his committee's scrutiny of the entire war effort, for the efficient and all-out prosecution of the war.

Just as the war spelled the finish of the career of the head of another investigating committee, the Dies committee, so has it meant the growth of the Truman committee and its capture of the public's imagination and trust. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* in an editorial, April 27, 1943, shortly after the release of the Dies committee report on Nazi activities, said it was "not worth the paper on which it was printed," and recalling that the committee had spent $570,000 in its five-year history, declared: "The contrast with another congressional group, the Truman committee (then three years old) is a startling one. . . . It has saved billions on the war program, it has brought about the prosecution of profiteers and cheats, it has given invaluable information to the public and it has promoted speed and efficiency in all branches of war industry.

"As against the generous appropriation Congress has handed out to the Dies committee, the Missouri Senator's group thus far has received only $200,000, slightly more than one-third of the Dies fund. . . . The Truman committee is a model of its kind, both in results and in operations. The Dies committee has been a disturbing influence ever since it was created and has contributed little if anything to the national welfare. . . ."

The committee was Truman's idea. That it was not taken seriously when his resolution creating the committee was passed, and in accordance with custom he was named to head it, is shown by the fact that of his modest request for $25,000, only $15,000 was allowed the committee. Moreover the committee, appointed in March 1940, contained only two senior Senators, and five of the ten, as it finally shaped up, were green freshmen—Ball, Wallgren, Kilgore, Brewster, and Burton. Truman said it was a break—freshmen worked harder than experienced Senators. It is characteristic of Truman that he has succeeded in making every report of the committee a unanimous report; and that he has brought the individual members of the committee into the limelight, by means of the subcommittee technique, making the subcommittee chairman report to the Congress direct.

THE Truman committee is the most colorful congressional committee in years, and yet its chairman in his mania for self-effacement presents an almost colorless exterior to the public.

A rather prosaic man, without any great imagination, Truman developed by leaps under the impact of the war. His friend Sen. Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri has indulged in defeatist attacks on the administration—and unfortunately his share in the spotlight at the convention and Truman's endorsement may mean his reelection. But the other Missouri Senator, who has seen plenty of action as captain of field artillery in the last war, had a passionate interest in this war from the first. He tried to be put on active duty the day after Pearl Harbor.

Every day that he's in Washington the sixty-year-old Senator confers with Hugh Fulton, chief counsel of the committee, at 8 or 8:30 AM. But he is usually in his office by 7:30. It is late when he goes home, and then he takes a briefcase with him. His wife helps him with speeches and with major decisions he must make. They have little to do with Washington social life. "He can take a report home with him at night and come back the next morning with a decision on it," said Fulton. "Once he is determined on a course, he is willing to get into a fight, even if it is contrary to the administration. But he doesn't criticize for the sake of criticism. The only test is, does it help the prosecution of the war?"

TALK to Missouri people and they tell you he is typical of Missouri, and when you ask what that means, they say that means typical of America—yes, even in the unsavory history of some of its machine politics. Sure, Harry Truman got his start in politics through the Pendergast machine, they say—a fact he never concealed or attempted to gloss over. And why should he? You have to get your start in Missouri through some machine—and isn't that typical of American politics? This is what Missourians say, and if they don't use the words "national unity," they nevertheless paint a picture of a machine politician who in action emerged as one of the Senate's most vigorous win-the-war leaders. Missouri is a border state that's both southern and western in character, an "average" state. Rep. Jack Cochran of St. Louis, who was defeated by Truman in 1934 for the Senate, expresses real affection for him.

"He's a plain man of the people," says Cochran, who is popular with labor in Missouri, "and his labor voting record is 100 percent."

Rep. C. Jasper Bell, who comes from near Kansas City, was not in Washington last week, but I talked to his secretary, Vernon Moore, who used to interview Truman every morning when he was a reporter for the old Kansas City *Journal-Post*. "He was very cooperative and he never misled newspapermen," said Moore. "He was frank in his discussions and seldom asked that something be off the record, and then for a good reason." Truman as presiding judge of Jackson County held the principal administrative job in the county, and was serving in a dollar-a-year capacity as unemployment director of the state. He returned from a tour of the state on which he'd found scores of precinct captains who'd put relatives on the federal payroll. To reporters he said, "Give me two days before you print the story." In those two days "I never saw so many heads roll," said Moore.

"He likes to get things done without taking the credit for it," Moore continued. "One Saturday night he was going on a steak fry here with some of us from Missouri. He was late, and

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when he got there, he explained he'd been having an argument with Jesse Jones (Secretary of Commerce) and Donald Nelson (head of the War Production Board) to increase rubber production, and that on Tuesday we'd see an announcement about it. We did. Truman's name wasn't mentioned—but the increase was promised, and that was the thing he was concerned with."

Charles Ross, veteran Missouri newspaperman, a former teacher at the University of Missouri and for years head of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* Washington bureau, was graduated from high school in Independence with Truman in 1901. He wasn't particularly outstanding, just a nice, average boy. Everyone in town knew him and liked him. "There was nothing brilliant about Harry," he said. "He is an indifferent speaker. But there is an integrity there which can't be questioned, and he gets along with people. I remember, I think it was in 1940, I attended some function here. He was sitting in a corner somewhere. He's a very shy man. I introduced him to some of the newspaper men and mentioned that he'd just come back from a tour of Army camps. They began asking him questions, and they were fascinated. He obviously had a wide range of the most authentic kind of information about all phases of the war and the defense program. There couldn't be a man in public life more modest than Harry."

THE Trumans were plain Missouri farm people and Harry helped his father farm the place near Grand View, south and east of Kansas City, which his great-great-grandfather had settled and which is still the home of Harry's ninety-one-year-old mother. Harry's girl in high school was Bess Wallace, whose family was just a notch above the Trumans economically, but still without any social pretensions. "Eighteen years later, after he'd been through the war and tried his hand at several things, he and Bess were married. Harry was thirty-five then. But he'll always say that Bess was the only girl he ever had," said Charlie Ross. Truman had the courage as a boy to take music lessons, carrying his music roll about unaffectedly, braving ridicule. His daughter, Mary Margaret, sings and plays and is studying music at George Washington University here, and last summer appeared with the Denver Opera Company. They play duets, or the Senator plays and she sings. He loves music and has a wide selection of records. But he also likes to play poker for small stakes, enjoys hunting and fishing, and, when he has the time, roaming through the lovely Ozark hills and mountains a little to the southwest of his home.

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, the *Globe-Democrat*, the Kansas City *Star*, and the old *Journal-Post* all opposed Truman bitterly in the years when they pinned the Pendergast machine label on him. The St. Louis *Star-Times* supported him but was lukewarm. He made no pretense of not being a product of the machine. He had as a veteran opened a haberdashery in the old Baltimore Hotel in Kansas City. A year later it failed and he was years in paying off debts. After trying farming again, he went to Tom Pendergast, whom he had known, and whose nephew James was in charge of a battery next to Truman's in France. He got a job as road overseer. Later he became a judge in the Jackson county court, and then was elected as presiding judge, and reelected in 1930. As such he supervised the spending of sixty million dollars, without a breath of scandal attaching to him.

In 1934, as the story is told by a former Missourian, Truman told Pendergast he wanted to run for county tax collector, a job worth $4,000 a year. Pendergast told him no, he wanted to run him for the US Senate. Truman was "flabbergasted." He hadn't conceived of himself in such a capacity.

He is a very literal-minded man, apparently, despite his shrewdness and his genius as a fixer-upper or go-between to bring two opposing factions together. This story of his reactions in 1934 makes more understandable a story from an unquestioned source anent the rumor that his nomination was planned months ago. It seems that Robert Hannegan of St. Louis called on the Senator in his office and said that he had been approached for the chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee. Truman, reasoning that Hannegan now had the job he'd wanted, that of commissioner of internal revenue, which Truman had helped him get, said, "Don't take it. You'd be better off staying where you are and avoiding a lot of headaches." Later Hannegan returned, saying that the President had asked him to take the job and asking what he should do. "You're a Democrat," was the reply. When Hannegan returned from a tour of the country feeling out those responsible for getting out the vote on a vice presidential candidate, and told Truman that those with most strength thought he would appeal to a wider following, including business, than Henry Wallace, the Senator replied: "Don't talk the vice presidency in here. And don't talk it among my friends. I have a job to do in the Senate, and I'm happy here."

JUST as Truman has been able quietly to unite win-the-war Senators on both sides of the aisle in support of various administration bills touching on foreign policy, he would be able to do more to obtain Senate approval of decent postwar treaties than perhaps any other man. Just as he has friends on both sides of the aisle, he also has the support from all sections of labor. It is possible he will win railroad labor, whose special friend he long has been, to support the ticket. Certainly small and intermediate sized business, and segments of big business, will be impressed by Truman, despite the fact that as head of the committee he has not hesitated in taking on Standard Oil, Carnegie Steel and, in the early days when they were refusing to convert to war production, the automobile companies—as well as any other opponents to all-out production.

And if recent Truman reports have not hit as hard on basic issues, for instance, or laid down the fundamental strategy of over-all control as thoroughly as did the old Tolan committee reports, and after that committee's demise, the Kilgore reports, the Truman committee nevertheless remains the most effective instrument to aid war production. Truman himself was an early sponsor of the Kilgore bill for orderly reconversion, and as late as July 8 he issued a strong appeal to carry out Nelson's plans for partial resumption of civilian production.

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TALKING ABOUT TRUMAN

He has obtained no recognition for it, but Truman originated the famous B2-H2 bill which did so much to lay the groundwork for the Connally resolution on international collaboration. He called Senators Ball, Burton, Hatch, and Hill together at luncheon one day and proposed the bill to them, and continued to work behind the scenes lining up bipartisan support for it. He also is a co-sponsor of resolution SJ 120, which would set up a government-business-labor-congressional agency to hold hearings on the need for expanded foreign trade.

Herbert Brownell Jr., chairman of the Republican National Committee, told a press conference that the Democratic party was controlled by the big city bosses and "the radical left wingers who are closer to Communism than any other political philosophy," and Phil Pearl, AFL publicist, called attention to this statement in a box in the AFL *Weekly News Service*. At the same time the publication jubilantly claimed credit for obtaining Truman's nomination. Does this make the control unanimous?

The outstanding job done by the Truman committee in the eyes of Frances Sayler, experienced legislative representative of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), was in fighting for conversion to war production. It was this fight that brought the UE, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and other CIO unions to open Washington offices. They found this committee the most effective forum for demanding all-out conversion.

"We know Truman from first-hand dealings with him to be an honest, hard-working, progressive man," said R. J. Thomas of the UAW, treasurer of the new National Citizens Political Action Committee, July 27. ". . . We are proud that our work helped prevent the nomination of a candidate by a handful of Southern Bourbons. . . . They settled for Harry Truman as vice presidential nominee because he was the only one who could stop Henry Wallace."

"The CIO never opposed Truman," said a Washington representative. "The only reason we never got to know Truman better, I guess, is that we always figured he'd vote right and so we'd let him alone."

One happy prospect labor of all affiliations will relish, providing the Democratic ticket wins in November, is that Jimmy Byrnes will be finished as assistant to the President. He already has indicated he wanted to be relieved as head of the Office of War Mobilization after X-day. He was elevated to his present position as adviser to Roosevelt because he could act as intermediary with a rebellious Congress. Truman's ability to get along in the Senate would make Byrnes unnecessary—and fortunately Truman has the ability to say "No" to other groups than labor.

A Missourian in an important government job has described Truman as "a man of thorough and rugged integrity who has a whole headful of common horse sense. . . . His most outstanding quality is his ability to get along with people and to get them to work with him. Next is his tireless energy. He works early and late and knows how to make it count. Then there is his great capacity for friendship. He is not a fair weather friend."

Arthur Sears Henning of the Chicago *Tribune* and other smear artists, faced with the dilemma of their papers' having praised the Truman committee loudly, now are trying hard to make it appear the committee did an axe job on the administration. "Soon the Roosevelt administration was writhing under the exposure of waste, inefficiency, and corruption," Henning said, speaking of the committee, in a two-column story in the July 25 Washington *Times-Herald*. Of course this is cockeyed. As Matt Connelly, executive head of the committee staff, pointed out, the committee has always given support to those in the administration who were doing most to further the war. Most recent example is its complete backing of Donald Nelson in his reconversion fight with the War Department officials. The committee has consistently supported civilian as against military control of the civilian war effort.

Although not an inspired speaker, Truman was pressed into service by the Democratic National Committee in Connecticut, Colorado, and Missouri, keynoting Democratic state conventions in recent months. In Connecticut his fourth-term speech resulted in the convention going on record for it.

Chief Counsel Hugh Fulton said the committee did more than any other agency to get the Office of Production Management out of business and WPB under way. It turned its heat on Philip Reed, director of the Bureau of Industry branch, John D. Biggers, director of production for OPM, and many others, before they were through.

A study of Truman's voting record shows that in 1937 he voted for the bituminous coal act aiding coal miners, for the Wagner housing bill, the wage-hour bill, TVA and all farm bills. In 1938 he voted for cloture on the anti-lynching bill, as he did in 1942 when the anti-poll tax bill was up. In 1939 he voted for the President's authority to devaluate the dollar, for the strategic war materials bill, and later, for neutrality act revision. In 1941 he voted for defense—against restrictions on transfer of naval craft, against limiting use of armed forces in the Western hemisphere, for all lend-lease, for foreign ships seizure, transfer of Axis ships to Britain, and authority to seize struck defense plants.

He voted against Watson, Dodd, and Lovett being ordered from government payrolls. He voted to continue National Youth Administration, and he voted against referring the Kilgore bill to the Military Affairs Committee, favoring the more liberal Committee for Education and Labor. Again, he voted for the federal income tax bill, which was not an administration vote, but he voted "Yea" when it came to funds for the domestic branch of OWI. He not only voted for the Connally resolution on international collaboration, but did a lot of footwork in lining up others to vote for the resolution.

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PLIGHT OF THE NISEI

By CAREY McWILLIAMS

It is our belief that the evacuation of Japanese citizens and aliens from the West Coast was a necessary war measure. And while we agree with Mr. McWilliams that these measures were harsh and undoubtedly unjust to many loyal Japanese, it is our opinion that the question of the time of their return to the West Coast is a matter for the federal authorities to decide.—The Editors.

On July 15, 1943, on a Town Meeting of the Air broadcast from Santa Barbara, I had occasion to debate with Congressman John Costello (then representing the 15th Congressional District in Southern California) the proposition: "Should All Japanese Continue to Be Excluded from the West Coast for the Duration?" Needless to say, Mr. Costello maintained the affirmative. Needless to say, he had the enthusiastic support of a clear majority of the audience; while what I had to say was greeted with boos, catcalls, and vehement hisses. Little did I think then that this same Congressman Costello, who, as a member of the Dies Committee, had made a business of evacuee-baiting, would be decisively defeated on May 16, 1944, for renomination to Congress. Also defeated, at the same election, for the state Assembly, was an interesting character by the name of Dr. John Carruthers, director of the "Pacific Coast Japanese Problem League." Making direct use of the so-called "Japanese issue," Dr. Carruthers failed to win nomination to the state assembly in the conservative Pasadena assembly district. The moral of this tale—and other California Congressmen should note it well—is that race-baiting is no longer sure-fire political thunder in California.

It would be foolish, however, to conclude from the results of the recent primaries in California that the temper of public opinion in California on the evacuee problem has completely changed. Other factors were unquestionably involved in the defeat of Messrs. Costello and Carruthers; nevertheless it has become apparent that a more favorable public opinion has begun to develop. It is high time, for some very real dangers still exist.

The Japanese Exclusion League—one of perhaps a dozen race-baiting organizations that have sprung into existence in California since the exclusion of the Japanese—is now circulating an initiative measure which, if enacted, would make it virtually impossible for a Japanese alien or a person of Japanese ancestry to earn a living in California. To get this measure on the ballot in November 1944, the circulators must obtain 178,000 signatures to the petition. It would seem altogether likely that the requisite signatures can be obtained. Thus the "Japanese issue" is likely to be directly involved in the November elections in California, with the Republicans, headed by Governor Earl Warren, ballyhooing the issue for all it is worth.

There is also evidence that the Republicans, although somewhat dismayed by Costello's defeat, still believe that it is sound political strategy to manipulate the Japanese issue. In alibiing the defeat of Congressman Joe Starnes, in Alabama, the Los Angeles *Times*, in perhaps the silliest editorial of the year, stated that "according to James Stedman, chief investigator for the Dies Committee, collections are being taken in the relocation centers to form a gigantic fund to promote this effort (the release of the evacuees) by defeating for reelection those officials who have heretofore stood in the way." (May 14, 1944). In other words, these impoverished Japanese-American evacuees in the relocation centers are charged with having raised a "gigantic fund" which resulted in the defeat of Joe Starnes. This is not prevarication: this is pure fantasy. In a subsequent editorial alibiing Costello's defeat, the *Times* stated it was the Congressman's zeal in fighting "Reds" and "the Jap spy ring" that resulted in his defeat!

In order to understand anti-Oriental feeling on the West Coast it is necessary to keep several factors in mind. In the first place Oriental-baiting has, in the past, been a highly profitable political enterprise. It has unquestionably paid good political dividends. Anti-Japanese agitation, in particular, has been exploited for purely political purposes. Nothing whatever was accomplished by the years of intense anti-Japanese agitation in California, except the embitterment of the people of Japan and a strengthening of the position of the Japanese military. As a matter of fact there is excellent reason to believe that, over a long period of years, military cliques in Japan deliberately made use of the agitation in California for a variety of purposes: to secure ever larger military and naval appropriations; to lay the psychological foundation for the idea of an eventual war against the United States; as a diplomatic issue to be used in negotiations with Washington, and for many related purposes.

Thus over a long period of years these traditionally anti-Oriental groups in California were, knowingly or unknowingly, serving the interests of Japan as effectively as though they were on a Japanese payroll. The measures they forced through in California—the measures they forced the federal government to adopt—were purely discriminatory in character. They were never even intended to remedy particular situations or to deal with particular problems. The purpose of these measures, and of the agitation for their adoption, was to enhance the political interests of the groups and organizations that made a business of exploiting the so-called "Japanese issue." More than the actual fear of competition, it was this political aspect of anti-Japanese agitation that accounts for the persistence of anti-Japanese agitation in California for over forty years.

It is also important to recognize that this "anti" agitation has always been—today as yesterday—primarily racial in character. The alleged case against the Japanese on the score that they constituted "unfair economic competition" was always so weak that the "anti" forces had, by necessity, to fall back upon so-called racial considerations. With biological assimilation prevented by the enactment of a miscegenation statute in 1905, they then charged that the Japanese "refused to assimilate." Since they refused to assimilate, they should be excluded and eventually deported. Of course there is no logic in this position; but the professional anti-Oriental agitators in California have never been interested in logic or reason or fair play. They are interested in politics. What kept the issue alive after 1919, and gave them a limited success in their

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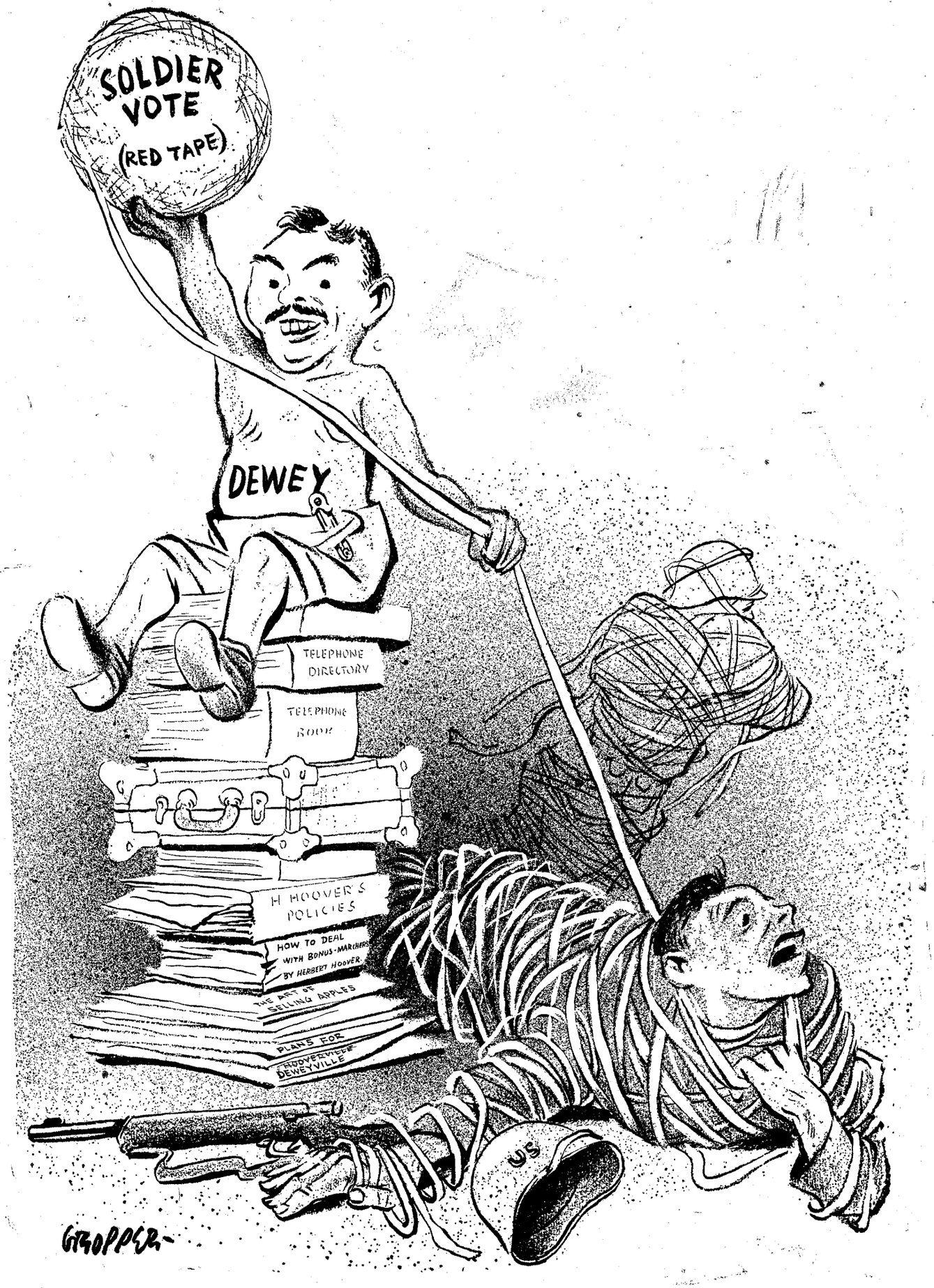

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agitation, was the very real fear of the people of the aggressive direction of Japanese militarism. As long as this fear existed, it was relatively easy to deflect hatred of Japan against local residents of Japanese descent.

While mass evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry was, in my opinion, a harsh and utterly unwarranted measure, it did serve an important—if unintended—purpose. Once all persons of Japanese ancestry had been removed from the area, it became difficult for the "anti" groups to develop an issue. It is hard to get people excited about a minority that has vanished from the scene. Consequently the bellicose anti-Japanese orators were in the position of a boxer fighting a phantom. It was for this reason that these forces were moderately quiet during 1942. But when they began to realize that the War Relocation Administration (WRA) intended to release the loyal evacuees from the centers, they launched, early in 1943, a vicious, unprincipled, and nonsensical assault upon this minority. In large part this assault was intended as a "smear" against the Roosevelt administration. During 1943 there were two federal investigations of the so-called "Japanese problem"; and at least five investigations by committees of the California legislature.

These committees investigated nothing. Their purpose was to make headlines for the West Coast press, not to investigate a problem. It was also their purpose to stir up racial hatred. It is not necessary to infer such a purpose. Congressman Eberharter, in his intelligent minority report as a member of the Dies committee, has clearly pointed out how that committee by its prejudiced procedures, its unfair methods, and its demagogic techniques actually served to arouse racial hatred. So thoroughgoing was this hate campaign that it looked by the end of 1943 as though it might be developing real mass support in California. When the people of a state read nothing but lies about a particular issue for over a year, and when this issue is constantly agitated in the most unscrupulous manner, there is of course a real danger that the lies may come to be accepted as facts.

"Portrait of Mrs. Burliuk," by Marion Greenwood.

FORTUNATELY, however, this Hearst-inspired agitation has backfired on its proponents. The 1943 campaign was so extravagant, so bombastic, so absurd, that the people began to dismiss it as dangerous nonsense. Moreover the puppets of Mr. Hearst in this dirty business were not content to libel the evacuees, but began to smear every one who advocated fair play, making promiscuous use of such terms as "Jap lover" and "the Kiss-a-Jap-a-Day-Boys" and so forth. Highly respected clubwomen were haled before the committees and brow-beaten like arch criminals. Here again the anti-Japanese groups went too far and, by December 1943, a noticeable reaction was apparent.

The more the people of California began to read about the war activities of the Japanese-Americans, of how the all-Japanese unit at Camp Shelby had purchased $100,000 in war bonds in a single day, and of the courage shown by the Japanese-American unit which stormed the beaches at Salerno, the more inclined they were to dismiss this racist agitation as nonsense. They also began to realize that this issue was being used for purely partisan political purposes. They began to note also that Mr. Hearst was using this campaign to divert attention from the war in Europe and to give the war in the Pacific the character, in his own words, of "a war of Occidental races against Oriental races for the domination of the world." The more these "anti" groups talked about "mongrelization," "racial purity," and "racial integrity," the more they sounded like Nazis. Larger sections of the public began to detect in all this sound and fury the echo of very familiar Nazi doctrines. Powerful unity committees and anti-discrimination committees had also been formed in California, such as the Council for Civic Unity in Los Angeles and the admirable Bay Area Council Against Discrimination. By opposing racial discrimination these groups had succeeded in educating a section of the public on the use that can be made of race as a social and political weapon. People in California, catching the echo of Congressman Rankin's bitter denunciation of the Negro, began to realize

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that such talk was essentially similar to that indulged in by John Costello when he discussed the "Japanese problem."

Within the last year the "anti" groups in California have assumed more and more the character of crackpot organizations. The "anti-Japanese" mass meeting in Los Angeles held in May was attended by only a handful of people. The speakers were local nonentities. Even most of the hack politicos stayed away from the meeting in an obvious effort to avoid becoming too closely identified with the movement. At this particular meeting one speaker painted the usual picture of horror, bloodshed, and disorder that would result if the evacuees were permitted to return to California. "Our boys," he said, "will kill every Jap on the streets after the war unless something is done to keep the Japs out of the country." ("Japs" of course refers to American citizens of Japanese ancestry.)

Actually such a statement constitutes a gross libel of the men in the armed services. In the pages of the California newspapers throughout the year have appeared dozens of letters from men in the armed services protesting *against* this anti-evacuee agitation. Very eloquent letters of this type have appeared not only in *Time* and other magazines, but in small rural newspapers in California. There is no reason whatever to think that the men in the service would, upon demobilization, engage in lynching sorties against the evacuees. Nor is there any reason whatever to think that there would be "riots," "bloodshed," or "free murder" on the part of California citizens, if the Army should decide to permit the evacuees to return. Nisei soldiers, on furlough, have been permitted for some time to return to California. I have talk with dozens of these men. Uniformly they report that they have encountered no hostility, no abuse, no unfriendliness in California. On the contrary, they have been warmy received by their old friends and have been hospitably entertained in the various USO canteens.

IN VIEW of the improved military situation in the Pacific it is time that the Army lifted the ban against the return of the evacuees to the West Coast. Every person of Japanese ancestry in the United States has by this time been investigated, indexed, cross-examined; the disloyal have been segregated from the loyal. Under these circumstances it is difficult to conceive of any valid reason that would justify the maintenance

of this curious racial wall in America—a wall which denies to American citizens of unquestioned loyalty the right to set foot in a particular section of the United States—the section in which their homes are located. The longer this racial barrier exists, the more difficult will be its removal. The longer it exists, the longer will the anti-Japanese groups in California have a bogus issue about which they can pass resolutions, conduct mass meetings, and engage in phoney racist agitation. These groups do not represent rank-and-file opinion in California: they represent themselves.

IT IS folly to indulge in the assumption that such groups can or should be appeased. Every concession made to them only results in stimulating further demands. The government yielded to their demands for mass evacuation only to discover that they wanted mass deportation. Again let me emphasize: these groups are not primarily concerned (if they are at all concerned) with the military security of the West Coast. They want the Japanese-Americans shipped back to Japan. They are not even concerned, as they have repeatedly admitted, with the question of the loyalty of the Japanese-Americans. They have consistently taken the position that there can be no such animal as a loyal Japanese-American; and that therefore the whole question of loyalty is beside the point. Their objection to this minority is essentially racial in character. The very groups that were most vocal in their demands for mass evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast—in the name of "military necessity"—were strenuously opposed to the evacuation of a single person of Japanese descent from the Hawaiian Islands! How is it possible, therefore, to take such bigotry seriously? Or to pretend that these groups have a valid position? Only a limited number of Japanese were removed from Hawaii (where the Japanese constitute thirty-seven percent of the total population) and there has been no trouble of any character in the islands.

It is very important that the nature of these anti-Japanese groups should be clearly understood throughout the nation. This necessity arises by reason of two considerations: first, some of these groups are sending speakers throughout the country in an effort to spread their point of view in an aggressive campaign; and second, it seems likely that the Army will lift the West Coast ban in the near future. Recently General Emmons, who handled the Hawaiian situation so admirably, permitted a limited number of evacuees to return. Other categories may be added in the near future. If the ban against return to the West Coast were to be lifted, it would probably mean that WRA could get the remaining evacuees out of the relocation centers before the end of the war (except those in the Tule Lake Center—the so-called "segregants" or "disloyal" evacuees) and would be able to close all the other centers and liquidate as an organization.

Such a development would have important consequences in the Far East. In a report from Chungking dated May 6, 1944, Wataru Kaji, an anti-militarist Japanese who has been working among Japanese prisoners for the Chinese government since 1938, pointed out that our failure to differentiate between the Japanese people and the Japanese militarists "plays into Tojo's hands and enables him to maintain his hold." Anyone who has read Israel Epstein's highly important dispatches from Chungking (for the Allied Labor News Service) must realize that there is a *possibility*, if only a possibility, of a revolutionary upheaval in Japan before military defeat. Whatever can be done, therefore, to scotch the notion that the war in the Pacific is racial in character, may conceivably shorten the war. Even those who believe that mass evacuation was necessary, for military reasons, concede that Japan has made effective use of the measure as part of its propaganda throughout the Far East. By lifting the ban on return to the West Coast, the last restriction on American citizens of Japanese descent will have been removed. By lifting this ban before the war is over we will have demonstrated our confidence in the principles for which we fight and, at the same time, will have dealt racism in America still another blow.

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OUR CALVINIST LEGACY

By FRANCIS FRANKLIN

This is the first of two articles on the contributions of Calvinism to American democracy.

WHEN John Quincy Adams confided his reactions to the Missouri Compromise of 1820 to his diary, he foresaw in a flash the whole future course of American history for the next half century. He foretold the secession of the Southern states, and wondered if in the long run it might not prove a blessing; for in that event, he declared, the Yankees would not sit back on their rocks and take it. Southern secession, he predicted, would be the occasion for marching the Army into the South for the sake of preserving the Union. In that case, he asserted, military necessity would result in the emancipation of the slaves. Thus he concluded that Southern secession would really prove a blessing, for except through military force he saw no chance of abolishing slavery. If slavery was to become the sword by which the Union would be dissolved, by that same sword, he maintained, would slavery itself be destroyed and the Union restored. Such an event, he declared in his typically Calvinist manner, was like all the workings of Providence, awful to contemplate in its beginning but glorious in its ending.

Thus the son of John Adams, who served with Jefferson on the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence, "surveyed the problems of the future" and by the most brilliant dialectical thinking, did so correctly.

John Quincy Adams, member of perhaps the most continuously illustrious family in American history, was a unique figure in many respects, but also highly representative of vast numbers of his countrymen. He voiced in the period of the rising anti-slavery conflict the tradition of '76. He had freed himself from the violently anti-democratic outlook which his father manifested while President. He had dramatically broken with the Federalist Party in 1808 to take his place in the party of Jefferson. If he became the object of the Jacksonian attack in 1828, it was largely due to the maneuvers whereby certain politicians placed him in office against the will of the majority rather than to anything reactionary in his own program at the time.

What made John Quincy Adams, reserved New England Puritan and intellectual, so typical of many of his fellow Americans was that he voiced an earlier form of the philosophy which was incorporated in the Declaration of Independence, specifically that of Calvinism of the Independent variety.

Calvinism was that current of Christian thought which has influenced our country more definitely than any other variety. Most of those who followed Washington into battle in '76 followed the Calvinist faith in one or other of its many forms rather than the materialist philosophy of Jefferson. While materialism was popular among certain revolutionary leaders, it was never accepted by more than a tiny fraction of the population as a whole. Far from becoming more popular after the Revolution, materialist ideas tended to disappear to such an extent that they played an even less important role in our second revolution during the Civil War and Reconstruction than in the first. It was under the influence of the battle hymns of Calvinism that the Union armies marched in 1861. Calvinism is still a vital force in our country—even where the specific forms of early Calvanism have disappeared.

THE Calvinists were attacked in the seventeenth century for "Hebraizing" Christianity. It is well for Americans whose greatest religious tradition is Calvinist, to realize that the faith of their fathers was attacked on anti-Semitic grounds by the defenders of medievalism. Just as anti-Semitism today is not aimed simply at the Jewish people, but at all democrats and all who love elemental human decency, so in the seventeenth century it was not aimed only at Jews, but at all Calvinist Christians. There were instances in antiquity of course, as well as today, when *all* Christians were the victims of anti-Semitism, and it will take more than an analysis of Calvinism to explain why the Berlin Ministry of Propaganda some years ago published a book entitled *Jewish Bolshevism in the New Testament.* However, our aim in this article is more restricted, and we will find it more pertinent for an understanding of specifically American traditions to limit ourselves for the moment to the study of Calvinism alone.

On the surface, it seems to be a far cry from the fierce and in many respects hideous doctrines of the French theologian, Jean Calvin, as they were developed in sixteenth century Geneva, to the democratic philosophy of the Declaration of Independence, which is still our philosophy in this greatest of all liberating wars. Yet a certain connection exists.

Calvin rejected as pagan the whole Platonic-Aristotelian tradition which had been incorporated in Christian doctrine during the history of European feudalism. He demanded in the most literal sense that Christians go back to the Bible, and rejected everything for which he found no sanction in the Bible itself. In his interpretation of the scriptures, however, he focused attention on those teachings which served the interests of the rising mercantile bourgeoisie. Since he found the patriarchal and priestly Mosaic code more adaptable to his aims than the ethics of the poor and oppressed as contained in the early Christian gospel, he was attacked by feudal reaction for reversion to Judaism.

According to orthodox Calvinism, men, as stewards of God, were trustees of His property. They served God when they allowed the creative power of the Lord to work freely through them as His obedient servants. God's creative energy was revealed through man by the multiplication of that wealth with which each individual had been endowed by his Lord. Hence industry, thrift, and sobriety were the cardinal Calvinist virtues. This moral code of course was the perfect expression of the productive needs of a commodity producing economy.

These teachings implied that the feudal noblemen, the holders of the greatest wealth, were endowed by God with the greatest of all responsibilities. If they allowed God's law to work through them by working soberly to increase the wealth with which they were entrusted, they became the most righteous and upright of all God's servants. Thus orthodox Calvinism put forward no revolutionary program for the overthrow of the feudal nobility. However, the content of its teachings was definitely aimed at the feudal structure of society. The multiplication of wealth through individual enterprise was no part of the

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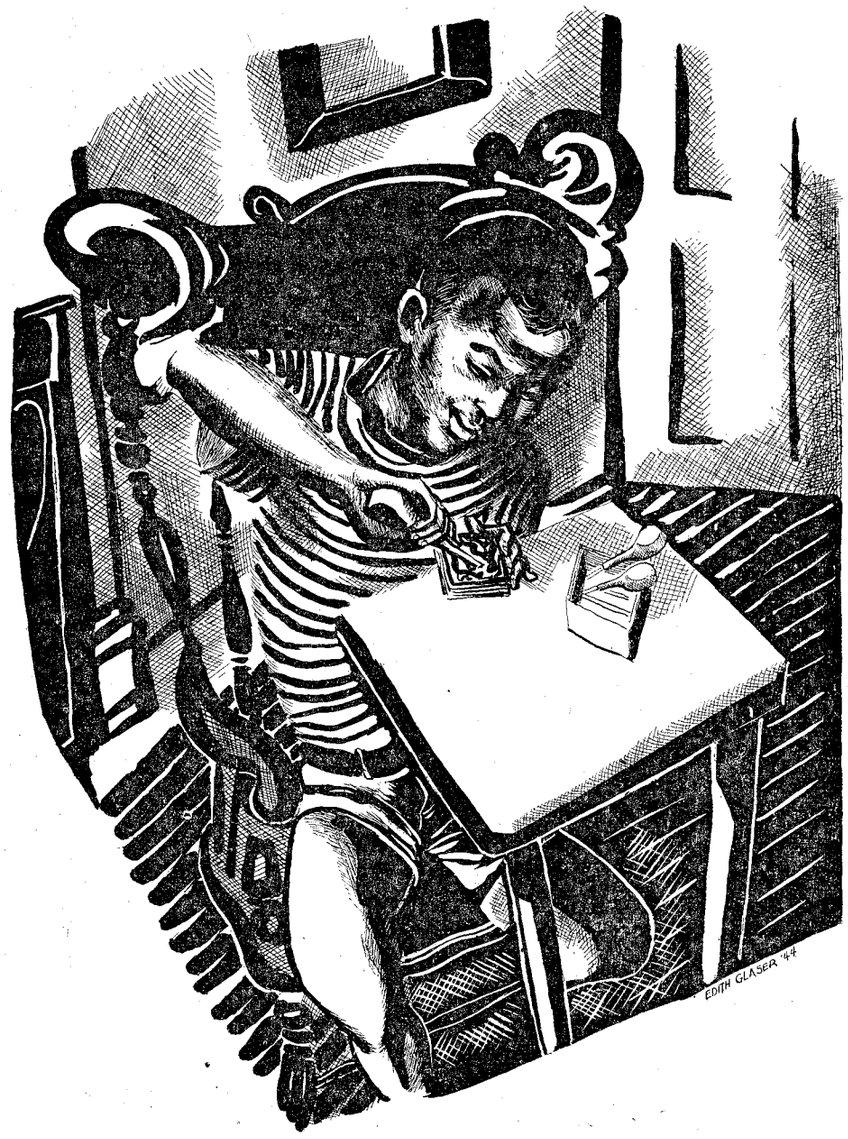
feudal code. On the contrary, feudal society was maintained by hereditary privilege.

Quoting St. Paul, Calvin declared in his great *Institutes of the Christian Religion* that "The powers that be are ordained of God." No matter how sinful a prince might be, none of his crimes could ever justify revolution. Thus Calvin tried to convince Francis I of France, to whom he dedicated his book, that he need not fear the Calvinist faith.

However, there lay behind Calvin's assurances a threat. Never, said Calvin, were the people justified in resisting an evil prince, for God for his own aims had given him power. However, God in his own time would punish that sovereign who defied the divine law. Throughout history, God had known how to smite down such rulers by raising against them *armies*, who thus wielded the sword of the Lord and executed his avenging wrath. The germs of revolutionary theory lay in that threat, for the armies of which Calvin spoke were composed of *men*.

Some princes were on their own initiative adopting the new and higher bourgeois methods of commodity production, and here and there an occasional monarch accepted Calvinism and in the course of time made it the official state religion. These princes—very few in number—represented a trend noticed by Marx, who declared in the *Communist Manifesto* that, in times preceding revolutionary crises, a small section of the old ruling class goes over to the new and rising class. Such princes received the blessings of the new bourgeois faith.

There was absolutely no program of democracy in early orthodox Calvinism. Pointing to the Biblical quotation that "Many are called, but few are chosen," the Calvinists asserted that *very few* were selected from among sinful men to receive God's grace. None deserved it. All alike were by nature, as sons of Adam, totally depraved and criminal at heart. Rightfully, all inherited eternal damnation in hell-fire. However, out of his bountiful goodness, God had decided to save a *few* from their well-deserved fate. These were the "elect," saved by no virtue of their own, but through God's loving kindness. Only the elect were regenerated. Thus they alone could rule according to God's law, and when placed in power by God, that law required that they rule with a rod of iron. Since the majority of men, including new-born infants, were totally depraved, nothing more blasphemous could be conceived than a government which granted men liberty. Liberty was license for criminals to run amok in society.



"The Linoleum Cut," by Edith Glaser.

How could a prince know if he were among the "elect" and thus if he were ruling righteously? Only if he followed "God's law" and placed "the saints," God's "true" church, in a position of power. How, then, could a prince determine who was among the "saints"? This was relatively simple. Those who were elected for salvation followed "the law," i.e., habits of industry, thrift, and sobriety. This at once excluded those noblemen who continued to follow the feudal code. It opened the door for all who toiled *and accumulated*. Thus, only those enterprising men who by trade and industry amassed property could ever hope to be numbered among the elect. According to orthodox Calvinism, those whom God has elected for salvation he smiles upon and blesses with ever-increasing material prosperity.

Here was the perfect religion of the rising bourgeoisie. Its sword neatly cut in two directions. Simultaneously it excluded from the number of the saints both all the privileged feudal princes who did not adopt bourgeois methods of production and likewise all the poor. The latter (in spite of statements to the contrary in the New Testament) were condemned as lazy and shiftless, blasphemers against God, who in this earth must be subjected to the merciless rule of the elect (a bourgeois dictatorship) and in the next to the eternal torments of hell.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Racism's Ugly Shadow

HAM FISH has notoriously big feet; they performed the neatest trick of the week when they not only succeeded in getting into his own mouth, but also, the other day, into that of his close-lipped neighbor of Pawling and Albany. When Representative Fish crassly injected anti-Semitism into the political campaign, he finally forced the GOP standard bearer into a statement of repudiation. Governor Dewey had sat tight about Fish's campaign until the roar of protest gave him the idea that he might lose votes: then he spoke out. But his words did not encompass a repudiation of his partner, Governor Bricker, who had, at a revealing interview at Pawling last week, admitted that Gerald L. K. Smith's votes were okay with him. And even Henry Luce's editors cannot deny that the Detroit fuehrer would yield to no man on anti-Semitism. Nor can they protest that Governor Dewey is ignorant of Governor Bricker's predilections: the GOP presidential candidate sat at the side of the vice presidential candidate when Fuehrer Smith's support was okayed.

To increasing millions of Americans some facts were coming clear: that the GOP program and perspectives had drawn about the Republican Party all categories of fancy or dyed-in-the-wool fascists and pro-fascists. Wendell Willkie underscored that when he offered to defend the crusading playwright, Maxwell Anderson, if Representative Fish sues the writer and his associates, now waging a good fight to prevent Fish's reelection. Mr. Willkie saw the root of the evil in Mr. Fish's "narrow nationalist views and associations." These, he pointed out, "are the inevitable producers of anti-Semitism and a dozen other perils of democracy." If Mr. Willkie delicately prefers to call Mr. Fish's position "narrow nationalism," that's okay with us; we would use stronger terms.

The New York *Times* interpreted Mr. Willkie's words pretty accurately, we feel, when it said, Sunday, that the Willkie statement "carried the clear implication that Governor Dewey's action in repudiating Mr. Fish for injecting the racial issue into the campaign had not really struck at the root of the controversy." The roots of the controversy lie in the GOP program, both in its explicit as well as implicit expression.

To obfuscate the issue, then, is the primary aim of the GOP tacticians. And last week Mr. Dewey indicated his strategy when he toilsomely dragged the issue of states rights forward while the national GOP chairman Herbert Brownell yammered on with his Red-baiting. Mr. Dewey is scheduled to make a swing around the country, consulting with the Republican governors, and mapping out the campaign he hopes will put him into the White House next November. Things are evidently not too happy within the ranks of the Republican setup. Turner Catledge, the New York *Times* political observer, indicated that in a Washington dispatch last Sunday when he said that Mr. Dewey had "got off on the wrong foot with a number of the governors and had left a bad impression with them. According to the reports some of them thought him aloof and haughty." And, undoubtedly, some of them are feeling the displeasure of growing numbers of Republican voters with the double-talk and pernicious practices of the GOP bigwigs.

No Cheer for the Enemy

IT IS most refreshing, after all the foregoing, to turn to Vice President Wallace's advice to the Democratic State Platform Convention in his home state, Iowa, last week. His was a warning that a Republican victory would hearten the enemy, "would inevitably give hope to the wrong elements in Germany and Japan." Contrary to the divisive counsels of the Republican Party leadership, Mr. Wallace strikes out for greater national unity. "The Republican Party," he notes, "and its organs of publicity have already tried to separate the farmer and the worker." He urges the Democrats to bring the "farmer and the worker together on a liberal, constructive platform." And those within the folds of the Democratic Party who combat such a program "are Republicans wearing false faces."

He counsels the Democrats that their "fundamental thesis" be "unity between the farmer and the worker," and to contrast that unity with "the Republican thesis of hatred between farmer and worker."

These are words of wisdom; wisdom that should be fully understood by everybody in the win-the-war camp—in the ranks of organized labor as well as within the Democratic Party. His thesis will win the Republican voters who are heart-sick at the defeatist, divisive spectacle of the GOP leadership.

Knocking Them Off

THE most inveterate white supremacist in the Senate, hence the most bitterly anti-Roosevelt Democrat there, has been defeated by a man who campaigned as a pro-FDR candidate. It is not difficult to imagine Sen. E. D. (Cotton Ed) Smith's jowls quivering with rage when the returns came in. Gov. Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, a former cotton mill hand in a state where one-fifth of the electorate (white) is a textile vote, outstripped him with a big lead though three other candidates were in the race. Smith, backed by private power and textile interests in the state, had reached new gutter levels in his campaign speeches extolling white supremacy. On the same day Rep. J. W. (Bill) Fulbright, who achieved distinction last year for introducing the Fulbright resolution for postwar international collaboration, received a plurality over Sen. Hattie Caraway and two more formidable opponents, including the reactionary Eldorado oil man, Col. T. H. Barton. As he didn't win a clear majority, however, a run-off will be held between Fulbright and Gov. Homer Adkins. Fulbright is the freshman congressman who handled Rep. Clare Luce so well after her maiden (Globaloney) speech last year.

Negroes who had been able to register, difficult enough in itself in Arkansas, and had succeeded then in getting officials to accept their poll taxes, did vote in the primary. Negroes voted in Texas and even organized a Democratic precinct convention. Not so in South Carolina, where a law remains on the statutes—it was carried out until the white primary was instituted in 1938—that if you are a Negro you can vote—providing you voted for Wade Hampton in

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1876 or your father voted for Wade Hampton!

To these signs of rising progressivism in the South must be added the defeat of the feudal aristocrat Dick Kleberg of Texas on the same day (the Kleberg family owns the world's largest ranch) and the earlier defeat of Rep. Joe Starnes of Alabama, Dies committee member and Roosevelt-hater. Then there were the victories of Senators Claude Pepper and Lister Hill. And of course Martin Dies' decision not to run, and that of Sen. Robert Reynolds of North Carolina, were a direct outcome of the progress of the war against the Axis and the inevitable accompaniment of democratic forces unloosed in a people's war. Meanwhile the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has denounced the Texas Electoral College plot of anti-Roosevelt forces as a "sneak attack upon the democracy for which our boys are fighting and dying" and "treason."

Warning to Argentina

SELDOM, if ever, have stronger words been applied to a nation with whom the United States is not at war than those used by Mr. Hull in summarizing the position of the United States with regard to the government of Argentina. They may be taken as the measure of the gravity with which we view the threat to hemisphere security and to the war effort of ourselves and our neighbors emanating from the fascist clique in Buenos Aires.

The Secretary of State notes that "at this most critical moment in the history of the American Republics" Argentina has taken steps "which have resulted in tremendous injury to the Allied cause." He points out that Argentina "has deliberately violated the pledge taken jointly with its sister republics to cooperate in support of the war against the Axis powers, and in thus deserting the Allied cause has struck a powerful blow at the whole system of hemispheric cooperation." Argentina, furthermore, "has openly and notoriously been giving affirmative assistance to the declared enemies of the United Nations." The body of the State Department statement goes on to document in detail and in concrete terms these accusations.

This is not simply the case of the United States against Argentine fascism. It is the case of nearly all the republics of this hemisphere and the case of the majority of the people in all the twenty-one nations. It represents the sentiments and interests of the people of Argentina

Battle for the New York GI's

THE unfamiliar sound of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey's voice made itself heard once again last week as the battle to ensure the ballot to New York's fighting citizens raged into the open. The sound was canned, as suited the sentiments, in a one-minute record, made by Duane Jones, advertising agency, and consisted of a special message from the governor on "how simple it is for servicemen to vote"—not how urgent it is to get ballots to our fighting men, not warnings about the time it takes for an application to be answered and a ballot to be sent out and forwarded to the GI who is to mark it, and be returned by November 3, the state deadline—but just "how simple it is for servicemen to vote."

This was Dewey's second open response to the many pleas, resolutions, and petitions that he act to simplify the highly complicated New York State ballot law. In the first and only other response he showed his real concern by charging a campaign of "deceit" against those who urged the acceptance of the federal ballot and liberalization of the state law. But while the Albany sphinx tries his best to say as little as possible on such crucial matters, his friends in the state apparatus are carrying the banners high against the GI's and their co-fighters. After Mr. Dewey's protests that New York did not need the federal ballot and that its own law was the "model of simplicity," President Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union asked for a specific ruling on the eligibility of merchant seamen under the state law. (Merchant seamen, USO, Red Cross, and OWI personnel overseas are provided for equally with GI's under the federal ballot provisions.) Mr. Dewey's attorney general, Nathaniel Goldstein, ruled that they were not members of the armed services. And the bipartisan State War Ballot Commission considering motions to count federal ballots from servicemen and to grant votes to merchant seamen and other overseas non-military personnel defeated the motions two to two. The two Republicans voted against, and one of them was William T. Simpson, the chairman, who thinks that the GI's don't want to vote anyway, and all this stir about war ballots is just "a fad." (The state American Labor Party through its secretary has labeled him unfit for his post and publicly demanded his ouster.) The ruling also came in the face of a direct request on the part of the National Lawyers Guild to construe the ballot as applicable to merchant seamen. Mr. Dewey hasn't yet explained how simple the ballot is for the maritime men; they simply won't vote.

This is what the Dewey men want. This is a cheap strategy to keep down the votes for FDR—they know who has stood up for the GI's rights in this war. But the battle is not yet over. The actions of the Dewey men have brought on overwhelming protests. The State ALP has charged the governor with wanton failure to use the State War Council for this or other war emergencies. The New York CIO Industrial Union Council and the Citizens Non-Partisan Committee for the Soldiers' Vote have not only made public statements against the rulings, but are fighting vigorously to see that as few ballots as possible are lost in the labyrinthine procedures of the present law. The distribution of ballot applications is being carried out on street corners, through unions, through clubs, from door to door, and Governor Dewey is still being pressed to use powers of the State War Emergency Act to straighten all these matters out. Even the networks, presented with Mr. Dewey's one-minute record, were at a loss to use it; they had already scheduled and had been running soldiers' vote material for some time. And your voice, dear reader, might help to turn the tide and persuade Mr. Dewey and his advisers that a last-minute change of tactic would be less difficult to explain than deliberate sabotage of express provisions of the United States Constitution.

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as much as it does those of North Americans, Uruguayans, Cubans, or Mexicans. And the opinions set forth have been arrived at in consultation with the governments of these other nations. The State Department summary crystallizes the demand of the entire hemisphere that Argentine fascism be more and more isolated until it is crushed.

There has been much speculation in the press as to whether this strongly worded statement implied other steps in preparation. There has been a good deal of talk of sanctions, whereby Argentine trade would be gradually cut off until the Farrell-Peron clique had been stifled out of existence. We have no way of knowing what the plans are but we do know that whatever is done will be undertaken jointly with our friendly Latin American neighbors and will in all likelihood involve Great Britain as well. There is no danger whatsoever of the United States embarking upon a self-defeating unilateral policy. We know, too, that our moves, taken multilaterally, will be more than welcomed by the democratic people of Argentina who constitute the great mass of the population. Under these circumstances we can see nothing but good resulting from the speediest and strongest possible commercial measures being initiated against Hitler's beachhead on this side of the Atlantic.

In the Forefront

LIEUT. GEN. LESLEY JAMES McNAIR went down in the new Allied offensive just opened on St. Lo—went down, in the words of General Marshall, "in the forefront of the attack." An unscratched veteran of the last war, McNair got it in this one. One of the "big four" of the US Army, in 1943 he was wounded in Tunisia, on a battlefield inspection trip, after a splendid record as Chief of the Army Ground Forces.

His insistence in troop training, which has borne out its correctness on the fields of Normandy, was "battle conditioning." You had to hate in order to fight, to kill, your enemy.

The sixty-one-year-old general was killed defending this principle. He is the only US officer of his rank to have died in combat during the present war. Salute to a general who took his with the GI Jims.

HITLER'S LAST TRUMP

By MAJOR GENERAL M. GALAKTIONOV

This last week the Eastern and Western Fronts of the European theater have seen the continuing sweep of the Red Armies from the Baltic to the Carpathians, and in Normandy the Allied breakthrough of the German defenses for a smashing coordinated drive of major proportions. Orders of the Day from Marshal Stalin have announced the fall of Dvinsk, Bialystok, Lvov, Stanislov, Jaroslav, Przemysl, and Brest Litovsk. General Bagramian's first Baltic Army has at the present writing pushed to within twenty-five miles of the gulf of Riga, with the prospect of trapping 200,000 to 300,000 Germans in Estonia and Latvia. Marshal Rokossovsky's men are fighting in the suburbs of Warsaw and General Chernyakhovsky's 3rd White Russian Army has tramped seven miles into what Nazis call German soil—the Suwalki triangle, annexed by the Germans in 1939, but only twenty-four miles from the old borders of East Prussia proper, the homeland of the Junkers.

In France the Allies have begun a push which is edging the western jaw of the Teheran vise closer on Hitler. An advance by the Americans on the west flank of the Normandy front has crashed through German defenses, taking the big towns of Brehal, Gavray, and Percy, bypassing the port of Granville, and has taken Avranches. Three German divisions have been wiped out north of Coutances, and the British have opened up a new attack on a seven-mile front in the Caumont sector. The files of wrecked vehicles —tanks, half tracks, armored cars—and the sizable bags of prisoners are evidence of the growing trouble in which the Nazis have begun to find themselves in the west as well as the east. This good news reinforces the argument of Maj. Gen. Galaktionov below in his appraisal of various factors which play their part in the execution of the United Nations military strategy in Europe.—The Editors.

THE Red Army's mighty offensive in Soviet Byelorussia and Soviet Lithuania, the capture of Cherbourg and Caen by the American and British forces in Normandy and the successful Allied advance in Italy are facing German strategy with unsolvable problems and are revealing its obvious bankruptcy. The war is nearing Germany's frontiers, presaging Hitlerism's utter defeat.

In its search for a way out of the situation, Goebbels' department resorted to a piece of mystifying jugglery which is worthy of a place among the most eminent instances of circus clownery. This item on Goebbels' program bears the motto, "The worse the better." The Red Army is advancing, the Allies have landed in Normandy—well, all the better. The German-fascist charlatans are doing their utmost to prove that everything is going swimmingly and that the loss of territory which the German army seized at the cost of such immense sacrifice is all to the advantage of the Germans.

This is the *leitmotiv* of the German radio broadcasts. On June 28, for example, the German Information Bureau through its reviewer Hallensleben declared that the Germans had surrendered all too little—"It wouldn't be amiss to sacrifice more than Rome, Cherbourg or Vitebsk."

Since then it is true the German army has gone a long way in the direction of the meeting of this wish: On the Soviet-German front the Germans lost Orsha, Minsk, Polotsk, Baranovichi, Molodechno, Kovel, Lida, Slonim, Luninets, Vilnius, Pinsk, Volkovysk, Idritsa and so on and so forth, while in Normandy they have lost Caen.

In the early part of July a German-fascist newspaper published in Stuttgart assured its readers that Germany was ready to repel the Allies' converging attack and declared, "We have abandoned our positions situated far from our borders in order to inflict annihilating defeat on our enemies in the West." But it is obvious to anybody in his right mind that when the Germans are compelled under the Red Army blows to abandon Soviet territory and at the same time lose hundreds of thousands of their men, this is in no way calculated to strengthen their defenses in the west, still less to

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enable them to inflict "annihilating defeat" on their enemies there.

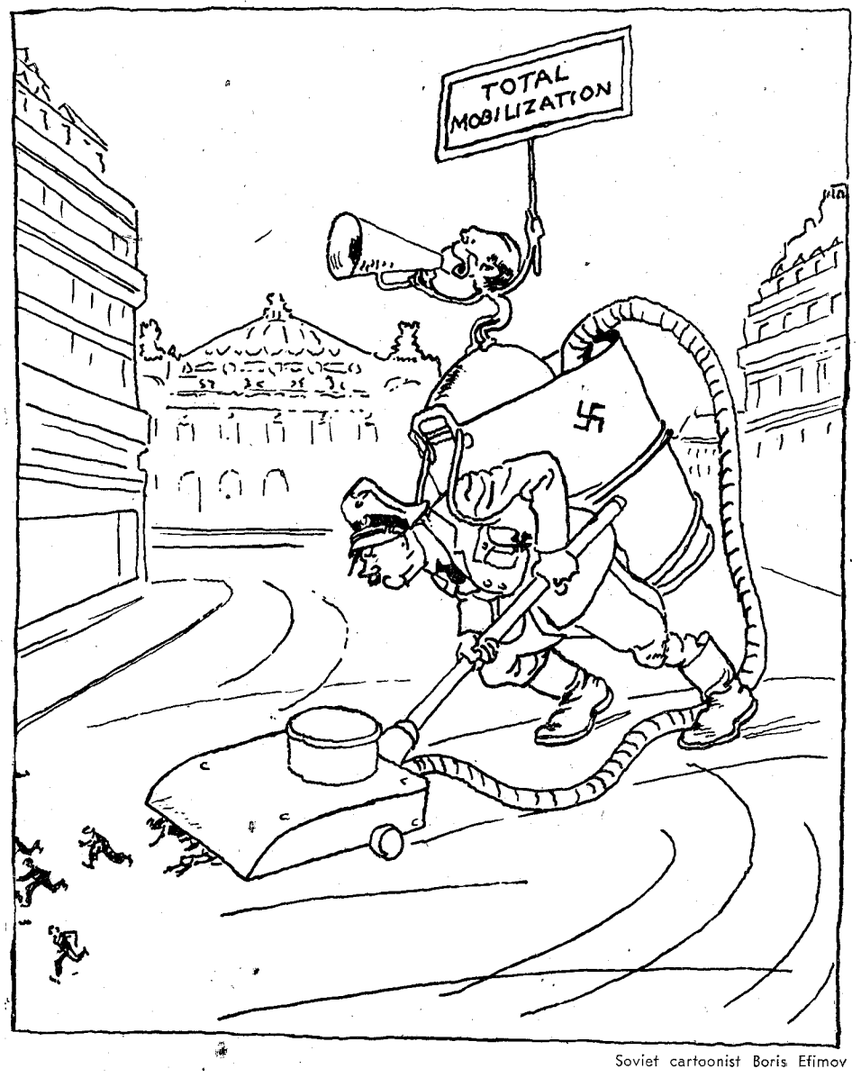
The aim of the Nazi counterfeiters is obvious. The first concern is to "explain" to the blockheaded Germans why the German army is sustaining defeat on the Soviet-German front. But at the same time it is a subtle game intended to provoke certain circles of the Allied countries to start a discussion to the advantage of the Germans as to which European war theater is more important, the east or the west.

The Germans are anxiously trying to make out that the eastern and western theaters have very much the same relative significance in this war as in the first World War. They are obviously banking on the military ignorance of their auditors. The strategic significance of any particular theater is determined in the final count not by geography, but by the relative strength of the forces engaged in that theater. On the Western Front in the first World War were the French army—which remained the biggest force on that front right to the end of the war—and the British, American, and Belgian armies. Consequently, Germany maintained her main forces on the Western Front.

However, even in the first World War the view that the Western Front was the chief front was not held unanimously by the German command. Unlike Falkenhayn, his rivals Ludendorff and Hindenburg held the opinion that the Eastern Front was the chief front. The tenth volume of the German official history of the war criticizes Falkenhayn's strategy and supports the opinion of Ludendorff and Hindenburg concerning the relative values of the fronts. This conflict of opinion was a reflection of the fact that in a war on two fronts both fronts were fraught with mortal danger for Germany.

In this second World War the strategic situation has shaped up "differently" from the first. For three years the Soviet-German front has been not only the chief front but the only front against Germany on the European continent. And it was on this front that Germany held and is still holding her main forces. The defeats inflicted by the Red Army on Germany were sustained not by minor forces, but by the main forces of the German army, and precisely for that reason they have brought Germany to the verge of disaster.

The Teheran decisions, as we know, envisaged relentless and concerted blows by the Allies from the west, east and south, designed to bring about the swift and complete defeat of Germany. How important it is that the blows should be concerted needs no emphasis. Only concerted blows delivered with every ounce of power will compel Germany to dissipate her troops, and predetermine her early and complete defeat in the final and most strenuous stage of the war.



Soviet cartoonist Boris Efimov

Plenipotentiary Goebbels: "We are now taking deep cutting measures, courageously, even recklessly. . . ."

It was in pursuance of this plan of concerted attacks that the troops of our allies carried out that admirable landing on the Normandy coast. Having firmly consolidated their beachhead they seized the large ocean port of Cherbourg and then the inland port of Caen, which makes it possible to expedite the landing of still larger forces capable of developing large-scale offensive operations in the west European theater. And when the Germans so zealously moot the question as to which theater is more important, the west or the east, they thereby only betray their fear of concerted blows by the powerful Allied forces in the main strategical areas.

It should be said that the artifices of the Nazi charlatans have so far borne little fruit. The Allied press speaks with the highest appreciation of the victories gained by the Red Army in its offensive in Byelorussia and Lithuania. All signs go to show that the public of the Allied countries is fully alive to the necessity of uniting and straining to the utmost the efforts of all the armed forces against the Hitler coalition for the defeat of Germany. . . .

Only a few dissonant voices are to be heard in the general chorus of appreciation of the interdependence of the blows struck at Germany from different directions. Such dissonance is to be detected chiefly in those rare cases when newspapers believe or pretend to believe the Germans' assertions that the German troops are being transferred from the east to the west. An instance of such "credulity" is furnished by the London *Evening News* which in an editorial on July 3 wrote: "What can Hitler do? He denuded the Vaterland Line by

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transferring tanks from Russia to Normandy. He cannot send them back again."

Clearly such idle reflections on the supposed transfer of Germans to Normandy are little calculated to facilitate the clear realization of the tasks confronting the Allied armies in the various theaters of Europe. That is just what the Hitlerites are after when they lyingly assert the Germans are transferring troops to the west and for that reason are surrendering Byelorussian and Lithuanian territory.

One meets with other statements in the press of the Allied countries which equally militate against the correct understanding of questions and are only calculated to play into the enemy's hands. For instance, one positively cannot agree with the opinion of the military reviewer of the London *Daily Telegraph* and *Morning Post* who on July 3 wrote that because of its dimensions and great opportunities for maneuvering, the Russian front was the dynamic front and in relation to it other fronts were only subsidiary.

It is not clear why the Soviet front should be the only dynamic front, and what there is to prevent the other fronts from being so. If what is true is the extent of our war theater, there is plenty of space for large-scale maneuvering in the west as well. It is common knowledge that the abundance of first-class roads in the West European theater is even an advantage for broad maneuvering by armed forces of the modern type.

It is significant, now that the Allies have successfully invaded Northern France, that the Hitlerites' last hope is that hostilities in the west will develop in such a way as to make that front a "subsidiary" and "non-dynamic" front. Characteristic in this respect was the review of the situation broadcast on July 4 by Hallensleben, who betrayed the Germans' most cherished hopes when he said, "In the four weeks since the invasion the enemy has failed to create a really effective front against Germany in the west. This becomes clear when we consider what the situation of the German high command would have been in the summer of 1917, and how Germany's prospects would have been assessed then, if instead of a land front stretching from Switzerland to the North Sea there had been only a narrow Anglo-American beachhead in Normandy."

So that is what the Germans are dreaming of. But the hope is as groundless as all their earlier hopes, which have been completely exploded. The Allies in Normandy and Italy have already given some first-class examples of dynamic maneuvering. The capture of Rome and Cherbourg was the result of such maneuvering. There can be no doubt that when the main forces of the army of invasion are brought into action, we will witness more outstanding examples of operational and strategical maneuvering in the West European theater, and the Hitlerites' last hope will then suffer a fiasco.

Powerful and concerted blows from the west, east and south are the only guarantees that the present culminating phase of the war will not be unduly protracted. Struck at the heart of Germany, these blows will rapidly lead to the victorious end of the war. The Hitlerite clique, fully aware of where their doom lies, are trying by miserable artifices to postpone the inevitable end. This will not save them from the stern retribution which is fast moving down upon them.

From the Soviet Information Bulletin issued by the Soviet Embassy.

GUEST EDITORIAL

By Dr. A. Penzik

MIKOLAJCZYK IN MOSCOW

With the news that Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, premier of the Polish government in exile, has flown from London to Moscow, interest in the Polish situation has grown to white-heat in the world's capitals. We are therefore glad to present the views in this guest editorial of Dr. A. Penzik, former chairman of the Polish Labor Group in the United States, and who was one of the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party in Poland. Dr. Penzik is the author of "The Future Government in Poland" which recently received widespread international comment.

Is reconciliation possible between the so-called Polish government in exile and the recently created Polish Committee of Liberation in Poland? I will answer that question immediately. Yes, it is possible. How and under what conditions I'll try to explain later. I find it necessary first to present a true picture of the present Polish situation, which so greatly imperils Allied unity, and I will try to analyze the plight and the legal status of the Polish government in London.

There are at present two Polish governments and each of them claims the right to govern and administer the liberated territory of Poland. The body in London claims to be a legal government, basing its ostensible right to govern on the so-called Constitution of 1935. The other government, the Committee of National Liberation in Chelm, Poland, repudiates the legality of the government in London and of the 1935 Constitution, and claims to possess the right to rule temporarily in Poland, not *de jure* but *de facto*.

The Polish government in exile was created in France according to the provisions of the Constitution of 1935. The former president, Moscicki, who himself was elected by the Polish parliament according to the provisions of the Constitution of 1921, designated Mr. Raczkiewicz then appointed as successor to the presidency and resigned his office. Raczkiewicz then appointed another successor to the presidency in case of his death, resignation, or inability to hold office. The present government was also appointed by him.

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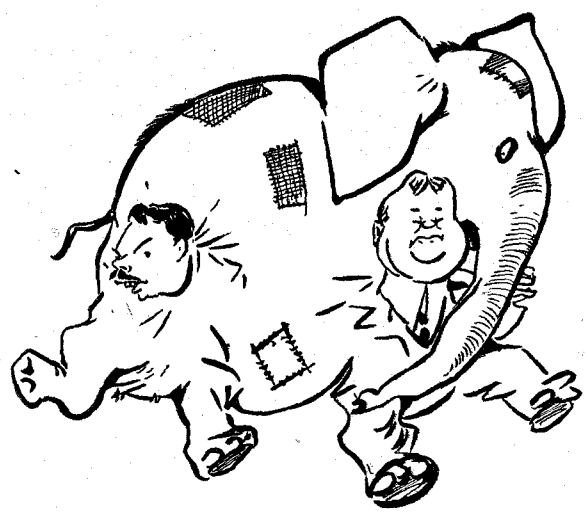
The so-called Constitution of 1935 has never become law. It was voted in the parliament as a resolution expressing the desire to change the previous Constitution of 1921. None of the requirements for changing the Constitution of 1921 according to Article 125 were met. Nevertheless the Sanacja clique which possessed the power in the country imposed this resolution as a Constitution upon the people and declared the Constitution of 1921 as nonvalid. The Constitution of 1921 has not provided for the appointment of a successor to the presidency. In case of death or resignation of the president, the speaker of the Sejm (the Marshal) alone was to hold office until a new president was elected.

As the London government is not based on the provisions of the only legal and binding constitution, that of March 17, 1921, its claim for legality cannot be justified. Except Raczkiewicz, Sosnnowski, and Strassburgher, who are Pilsudski followers, none of the members of the Polish government in exile have ever in Poland recognized even the Constitution of 1935 as legal and binding.

There is no doubt that the Committee of National Liberation actually has power in territories liberated by its army with the help of the Red Army. It is worth mentioning that the thirteen members of the committee who lived under the German occupation were always in close contact with the Polish people. Only seven members lived in exile. It is at least as representative as the government in exile. If a plain farmer, Mikolajcszyk, can be prime minister and a former farm worker, Kwapinski, can be a vice-prime minister, why should it not be suitable for a white-collar worker, Morawaski, to be the chairman of the committee and for a farmer, Witos, and a writer, Wasilewska, to be vice-chairman?

We must not forget that the committee has been recognized as the *de facto* government of Poland by one of the great allies and that treaties similar to that concluded with the Czechoslovak government have been signed by the Soviet government and the Committee of National Liberation. The Polish government in London has not signed any agreement with the governments of the United States or Great Britain containing and commitments on the side of the Polish people. Both the government and the committee command armies and guerrillas. Each claims that its forces are larger. The army under General Rola, member of the Committee of National Liberation, unquestionably does real fighting in Poland and there is no doubt that this army is much larger than that under General Sosnkowski's command. The size of both guerrilla forces is not known and cannot at present be estimated with certainty.



Soriano

GOP Doubletalk.

Knowing these facts we can better consider the possibility of a reconciliation of the two rival Polish governments, neither of which is in reality based on binding Polish law, namely the provisions of the Constitution of March 17, 1921.

THE principal condition for a reconciliation and understanding between the rivals is the solemn repudiation of the so-called Constitution of 1935. Its existence and recognition is intended to pave the way to power for the Pilsudski camp (Sanacja) in liberated Poland. The spokesman of Sanacja in the United States, Colonel Matuszewski, understands this best and therefore he is the most ardent advocate of the legality of that constitution. He knows that the president on the basis of this constitution possesses "uniform and indivisible power." He also knows that the constitution and election regulations based on it can be changed only by the parliament (Sejm and Senate). President Racziewicz, as mentioned above, was one of the outstanding leaders of the Pilsudski camp in Polond. The same is true of the commander in chief, General Sosnkowski. Colonel Matuszewski also knows that the last parliament in Poland consisted of members of the Sanacja alone, because with fascist regulations governing election procedures, no other party was able to nominate candidates for parliament. Such a parliament will naturally not change the constitution and such regulations in the democratic fashion. President Raczkiewicz after his arrival in Poland could and would dissolve the present government headed by Mr. Mikolajczyk and appoint a government of his own followers, just as the former President Moscicki did in the past. This apparent danger must be completely eliminated by the repudiation of the so-called Constitution of 1935.

The next move should be the dissolution of both the government in exile and the Committee of Liberation, the formation in its place of a provisional government in Poland. The membership of this government should include those members of the government in exile who are sincere democrats and who seek true friendship and cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union, in addition to the great majority of the members of today's Committee of National Liberation. The majority in the provisional government should consist of persons who have lived under German occupation in Poland. There should be no obstacles to the creation of this provisional government on the basis of the Constitution of 1921, and the presidency should for instance be given to Mr. Mikolajczyk, with Mr. Morawski as prime-minister. The prestige of both men will in this way be preserved.

Such a government will unquestionably have the support of the overwhelming majority of the Polish people, and will be recognized by the United Nations, without exception.

The first action of the provisional government should be the recognition of treaties concluded by the Committee of National Liberation as valid and binding. This government should then dismiss Generals Sosnkowski and Anders and their followers in the ranks of the Polish army, and effect a fusion of both the Polish armies in Poland and abroad, and the underground fighters within the country.

If Mikolajczyk went to Moscow with unlimited "power of attorney" and will fully understand that this is the only chance of bringing his government together with the Committee of National Liberation—a reconciliation can and will be achieved.

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READERS' FORUM

Mr. Dewey, Get Busy

The following is an open letter to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey by Marcel Scherer, reconversion coordinator of District 4, United Radio, Electrical, and Machine Workers.

TO GOVERNOR DEWEY: We in the labor movement, along with all other citizens, are interested in your announcement that "reconversion" will be a major point in your campaign. You plan a visit to Pittsburgh on July 31 "to unite the Republican Party in its approach to the problem of reconverting the country's industry from war to peace production." You must admit that this is a problem of "critical importance to eleven million men and women returning from the armed services, and to millions more in the war industries."

Basic to a solution of this gigantic problem is how you and your party propose to deal with the human side of reconversion. In a word, that means what you are going to do now to provide for a total of fifty-five million workers in the armed services and in the industries, especially those who are being thrown out of work suddenly by cutbacks and contract terminations; how you are going to take care of these men and women during the period of reconversion and in the postwar period.

Your state administration has already spoken out on this question. It has gone to the trouble of advising our federal government what should be done, and we cannot help but wonder whether this advice is going to be the basis of your Pittsburgh discussion.

About a month ago, your administration was afforded the opportunity of testifying before the "Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning" of the United States Senate. You chose as your spokesman a Republican leader who is closest to the problem of the needs and care of workers thrown out of work. I refer to Mr. Milton O. Loysen, Executive Director, New York State Department of Labor, Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance, a man whose position is such as to make him most sensitive to the needs of workers now being thrown out of work. This Senate Committee Hearing was vitally concerned with getting the testimony of such State Administrators. In opening the hearing, the committee chairman Sen. Walter F. George confirmed this: "We desire to hear from state administrators and governors on the question of the unemployment-compensation fund, and the *suggested changes for the reconversion period following the cessation of hostilities.*

Director Loysen, the representative of your administration, minced no words. He vigorously opposed any proposals to increase the unemployment insurance benefits that are in the Kilgore bill S 1893 or even in the Murray-George bill. We will let Director Loysen speak for himself:

"I am opposed to any plan of supplementation of state unemployment compensation systems through subsidy by the federal government. I do not see any demonstrated need for it at this time or in the foreseeable future.

"This is not the time for making guarantees of doles to workers nor to set up the machinery for economic collapse. To put such contracts on the books now—and to make it last for two years or any other substantial period—would be an invitation to masses of people on the fringe of the labor market and to all the lazybones in the country to relax and draw their 'rocking chair' money.

"It is my further opinion that the kind of benefits set up in the Kilgore proposal, up to eighty percent of the normal rate of earnings, would set up a resistance, prior to complete reconversion, in the recruitment of war workers and would tend to increase labor turnover while the war is still being waged."

HOW can you and the other Republican Party leaders expect to keep our war industries going at top speed now that cutbacks have hit us, when the devoted and hard-working war workers and discharged servicemen who are thrown out of work are to be treated as "lazybones" out to draw their "rocking chair" money? Such a stand is not only an unwarranted insult to our discharged soldiers and to our patriotic war workers who have wrought miracles on the production lines, but must lead to chaos, dissatisfaction, and civil strife. Reconversion, next to winning the war, is the most pressing problem of the day. In fact, reconversion is an inseparable part of the task of winning the war, quickly and overwhelmingly.

The human side of reconversion demands action now, with a just treatment of the millions who have gallantly served our nation on the fighting fronts and on the home front. The test of whether these Americans are going to get jobs and what kind of jobs they may expect from you and your party is going to be in the treatment you plan to give them from the very moment that they lost their jobs because of cutbacks, until they obtain permanent jobs in civilian goods production. Director Loysen rejects the Kilgore bill provisions for interim placement benefits of twenty to thirty-five dollars per week during the entire period of unemployment during our complex days of reconversion. He clings desperately to the present inadequate unemployment compensation benefits of ten to eighteen dollars per week, for a very limited period, and this even though it is obvious to all that the cost of living has soared sky-high, under existing war conditions.

Talk of reconversion, while ignoring the human side of reconversion, is no reconversion at all—it is a sure path to chaos and crisis that is bound to come, not after the war is over, but right now in the very midst of war, when we are on the eve of our most decisive military operations. Did not the spokesman for the New York State administration, in his testimony against Federal legislation to plan for reconversion, take the path to economic disaster? Is this the basis of your Pittsburgh conference?

May we hear from you on this problem?

MARCEL SCHERER.

"How It Was Hicks!"

TO NEW MASSES: One can only applaud your editorial on Granville Hicks' review of *Teheran*. The review was scurrilous, and your protest just. It would be too bad, however, to leave unmentioned his superb final, perorative sentence: "Pessimism is *de rigueur*." I will give long odds that this is the most fatuous remark of the twentieth century.

"Pessimism is *de rigueur!*" A phrase redolent of etiquette and of exquisite behavior. A phrase suggestive of that evil digestion which follows formal dinners. Sorrow in evening dress; tears in Tuxedo. So this is the fashion in which the coming fall of Hitler rattles the teacups!

I recall that the editors of the *New Republic* once denominated you and your colleagues as "The Happiness Boys." This was surely a novel term of abuse, more significant of its inventors than of you. Perhaps they might, had they had the requisite power of prose, be willing to describe themselves as "The Bitter Company." All this grief over the end of Nazism is curious. It couldn't be disappointment, could it?

Poetry, as every romantic knows, is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings. The passionate tension which seized me at the sight of Hicks' sentence resolved itself at once into a quatrain. Doubtless, being slightly plagiarized, it is unworthy of your pages, but it is, I think, worthy of its inspirer and "onlie begetter," Mr. G. H.:

He wept his sins, he moaned aloud;
Yet still the sorrow sticks.
How sad, and bad, and mad it was
But then, how it was Hicks!

JOEL BRADFORD.

New York.

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MR. WELLES TAKES HIS STAND

By RALPH BOWMAN

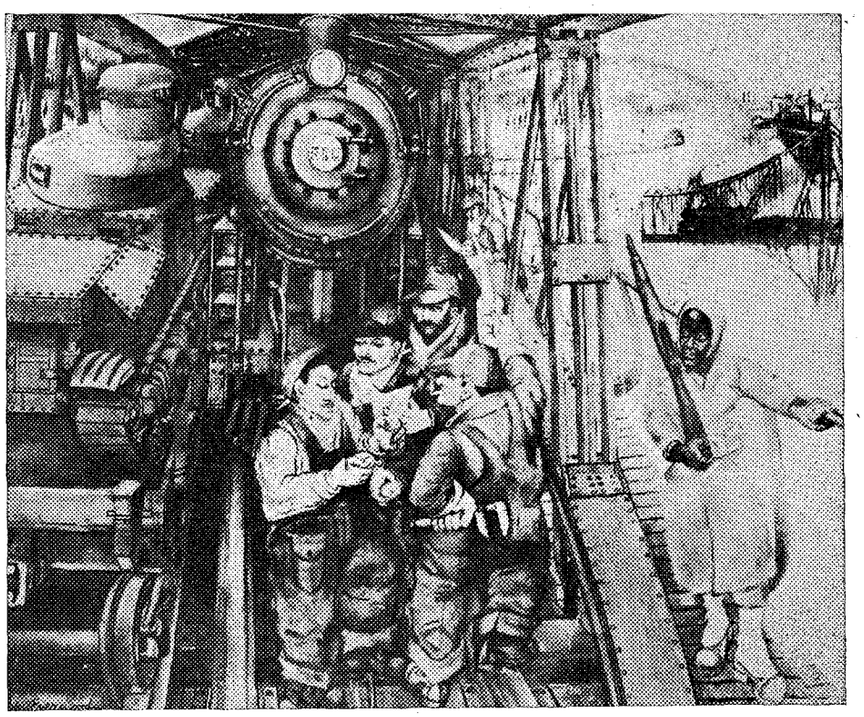
WHEN Mr. Sumner Welles resigned his post of Under Secretary of State last year, there was widespread feeling of regret and uneasiness among the progressive supporters of the Roosevelt administration. In recent years Mr. Welles stood out as a symbol and the foremost spokesman of the progressive trends of our seemingly erratic foreign policy. There was considerable speculation of the alleged triumph of reaction in the State Department. The friendly attitude toward Vichy, followed by our support of Darlan, Badoglio, Giraud, the postponement of the second front and similar manifestations lent much support to the speculations and uncertainties of those months. Within a short period, however, Cordell Hull shattered these fears through his bold, energetic, and leading role in the Moscow Conference, and a month later the Teheran agreement revealed the fundamental principles and aims of our foreign policy. In the light of these momentous events Mr. Welles' resignation became a minor, but still intriguing, episode.

And now he has written a fascinating book* about the genesis, the development, and the maturing of the New Deal foreign policy. His admirers will be pleased to learn that he not only wholeheartedly supports the central aims of the Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran conferences but that throughout his recent diplomatic career he has helped to formulate and shape the principal elements of our present foreign policy. Our war effort and the more difficult postwar tasks can ill afford to dispense with the services of a man of Mr. Welles' caliber, vision, and conviction.

The Time for Decision undertakes to deal with the gamut of problems that led to the war, that shape its course and conduct, and that determine the nature and form of the postwar world. The book's core is built around the difficult, slow, and painful development of our foreign policy these past twelve years. Unlike similar works, consisting primarily of long and tedious state documents, Mr. Welles describes specifically the problems and manifestations of our foreign relations, with illustrations of actual history. These accounts take on color by virtue of his personal participation in most of the important events discussed, and by his extensive first hand experience. Hitler's concurrent rise to power forms both the background and the chief direction of the book.

ONE of the book's highlights is the first public account of his European mission in 1940 as the President's special representative. His aim, he informs us, was to sound out the heads of European powers on the prospects of a sound and lasting solution to the antagonism that led to the outbreak of the war five months earlier. Neither the President nor Mr. Welles expected success from this forlorn journey. The interviews in Rome, Berlin, Paris, and London in the ominous year of 1940 make interesting reading in 1944. Hitler's arrogance, Mussolini's hypocrisy, Chamberlain's frustration, and Daladier's despair gave no clues to peace or to a hopeful future. Neither did this mission contribute to the final formulation of a sound American policy except in the negative sense of suspecting the fallacy of Munich. Welles' mission to Europe was a failure primarily because it lacked a mission to Moscow, which at the time was under our moral embargo.

Mr. Welles believes that since the days of Jefferson, Madison, and John Quincy Adams, the United States did not possess or follow a consistent or logical foreign policy. Hence, not until Woodrow Wilson's administration did



The canvas above called "Wheels of Victory," which has just won a $2,000 prize in a nation-wide competition for American artists is by a painter familiar to New Masses readers, Philip Evergood. The contest was a unique project jointly sponsored by Artists for Victory and the Pepsi-Cola Company with a jury of internationally famous artists. The prize winners will form the nucleus of a collection of American painting eventually to be presented to the American public. One hundred and fifty of the 5,000 entries will be shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in October.

* THE TIME FOR DECISION, *by Sumner Welles. Harper. $3.*

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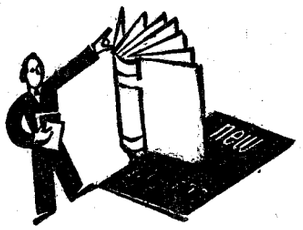

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our country begin to consider itself a responsible member of the family of nations. In Welles' estimate, Wilson's Fourteen Points, the Covenant of the League of Nations, and a considerate attitude to Latin America were forerunners of today's foreign policy. The Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover administrations represented a retreat to traditional isolationism. The Roosevelt administration, he contends, revived the Wilsonian principles and developed them first in our relations to Latin America. What is now popularly called the Good Neighbor Policy contains the essence of an enlightened foreign policy and constitutes the core of his complex plan for world organization to preserve peace. Mr. Welles' chapter on the Good Neighbor Policy is a comprehensive summary of the first sound achievements of the Roosevelt administration in the field of foreign relations of which our country may well be proud. He considers the acid test of this policy met in the virtually universal approval of its principles and application by the peoples of Latin America and in the war solidarity displayed by nearly all these countries. In the Latin American field Mr. Welles is thoroughly at home and is undoubtedly our foremost authority, for not only was he in charge of applying the Good Neighbor Policy but he contributed much to its formulation and elaboration.

ESTABLISHING decent relations with our relatively weak agrarian neighbors in Latin America proved a simple task compared to the vast problems presented by a Europe and Asia passing through a devastating economic crisis, pregnant with terrible rivalries and antagonisms, and drifting rapidly towards war. It is true, as Mr. Welles points out, that the Roosevelt administration was still young in office when our own country was in the throes of its most severe economic crisis, and the chief attention was directed to the solution of our own immediate neighbors. After generations of isolationist and superficial thinking it was not easy to understand that our prosperity was irrevocably linked with the economy of the entire world. It was even harder to realize that economic deterioration in Europe and Asia would lead to a war that would engulf us in its deadly tide. And, we might add, it was still more difficult to recognize our potential enemies and friends through the maze of prevailing prejudices and illusions. Mr. Welles points out that we were not prepared to offer constructive proposals to the London Economic Conference in 1936 to divert the already visible drift toward war.

He sees how our "moral embargo" against Italy during the invasion of Ethiopia actually assisted the aggressor. More important, our policy toward the Franco rebellion in Spain showed that we did not begin to grasp the essential nature of the skirmishes preceding this global war. Mr. Welles is fully aware of the absence of a consistent foreign policy in the early years of the Roosevelt administration. Nor does he try to justify its errors. In several instances he condemns our policy on Spain: "I have already expressed my belief that the position adopted by this government with regard to the civil war in Spain, during the years 1935 and 1938, constitutes the greatest error in the foreign policy of this country during the past twelve years." The error on Spain was shared in common with the governments of Chamberlain and Daladier, whose foreign policies we largely emulated during those years.

The President's "quarantine" speech in Chicago in 1937 marks the first departure towards a correct foreign policy in Europe and Asia. Mr. Welles then proceeds to list the virtual diplomatic break with Germany in 1938, the Destroyer-Bases agreement with England, the Lend-Lease Act, aid to the Soviet Union after June 22, 1941, the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Declaration in 1942, followed by the Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran agreements. We see how American foreign policy took shape under the impact of the war. The war's progressive nature was reflected in our policy, and that in turn facilitated the unfolding of the progressive trends among the United Nations.

Mr. Welles attributes the basic causes of the present war to the world economic crisis of 1929, the political instability in Europe and Asia, and to the predatory aims of the German and Japanese ruling circles. He places responsibility for starting the war squarely on Germany, where it belongs. In his further quest for motive forces of war in Germany he does not end with the Nazi party, but rather seeks the more permanent sources of the world conquest aims in German history. His final conclusion is that the chief war-making and inciting force in the German nation is the German General Staff. This conclusion does not lead him to minimize the guilt of Hitler and the Nazi party leaders.

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THERE would be no particular point in challenging this erroneous view at length, were it not for the fact that he makes this the very center of his plan for postwar Germany. He would punish the General Staff as well as the Nazi leaders for all their war crimes and then liquidate both these evil institutions together with the German army. East Prussia, the chief breeding ground and the economic base of the Junker generals would be given to Poland as a part of this just punishment. So far so good. But since he considers the unification of the German nation as largely the handiwork of the General Staff he proposes to divide it into three separate and independent states. Sensing that this will be considered a retrogressive step he assures us that they would be permitted to retain their present productive economy and eventually would develop into three peaceful and prosperous nations. He warns, however, that the underground German General Staff would stimulate the growth of Communism in Germany "in its world revolutionary form." And nowhere in his chapter on Germany does Mr. Welles deal with the predatory role of the industrialists and bankers or their complicity in the collosal crimes of Hitlerism. He does mention the financial, commercial, insurance, and shipping combines and cartels, in passing, as the effective agencies of the military high command and takes it for granted that they will be dismantled with the division of centralized Germany. He also considers it essential that the United Nations impose control over German mining and heavy industry after the war to prevent rearmament. But there isn't even a hint of the criminal responsibility or the punishment of the owners of these enterprises. The implication of immunity and a new lease of life for the industrialists is implicit in this plan.

The Time for Decision testifies that Mr. Welles has done much hard thinking on a vast range of problems. But his proposals on Germany illustrate that he has diffused his efforts and energies over too wide a range instead of concentrating on the central sources of the present world disaster. Had he centered his main attention and abilities on a deeper analysis of Germany and Japan he could hardly escape the mounting conclusion of enlightened opinion that the chief fountain heads of fascism, especially in Germany, are the monopolies and cartels created and controlled by the industrialists and bankers. The Nazi plan of conquest has as its primary economic objective to make Germany the industrial workshop and the banking center of the world to which all conquered peoples would pay tribute. Hitler's party received its birth certificate, its keep, and its mandate to rule Germany from the industrialists and bankers. The General Staff and the army were the willing instruments as well as partners in this monstrous conspiracy against mankind.

Mr. Welles' plan for Germany is motivated by the desire to prevent another aggression by that nation. It seems, however, that he does not see that the *chief* guarantee to that end lies in the long range observance and the unfolding of the basic political agreements reached at Teheran. Unless this is our chief perspective and aim there can be no just and wise punishment of Germany and permanent extermination of the real wellsprings of fascism, reaction, and war.

THE above inadequacies are the most outstanding among other inconsistencies to be found in this valuable book. This war has not only wrought untold material and human destruction but fortunately has also shaken and shattered many antiquated modes of thinking which facilitated fascism's rise to power. Discerning readers will find evidence of this process in the book even though the author did not plan it that way. And this process is by no means completed.

Looking backwards Mr. Welles detects the cardinal error of our foreign policy in the failure to recognize the first manifestation of Hitlerism in the Spanish Civil War, and yet today he still persists in overlooking the fascist menace on our own doorstep, in Argentina. He criticizes the State Department for utilizing the "inter-American machinery for the purpose of coercing the Argentine Republic." It is hard to believe that this difference led to his break with Mr. Hull. But it is not difficult to understand that this paradoxical attitude arises from the same lack of understanding of the social sources of reaction and fascism and inability to detect it in its initial stages. It would be unjust even to hint that Mr. Welles sympathizes with the military-landlord dictatorship in Argentina. His entire record as well as his book amply illustrate that he is a Wilsonian democrat. And moreover he recognizes in this book that "the United States must dedicate itself to the task of creating such world conditions as will foster the growth of democratic governments throughout the earth. For the

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progressive growth of democracy in other parts of the world means increasing safety for the United States." This cardinal principle, first introduced as the foundation of our foreign policy by Thomas Jefferson, is embodied in the last and the most important chapter of *The Time for Decision.*

This chapter summarizes Mr. Welles' constructive and progressive views. His admirers may well regret that he is not expounding these proposals, as well as his detailed plan for a world organization, in the State Department and with the representatives of the United Nations, in addition to presenting them to the public. For Mr. Welles, like all truly progressive statesmen, recognizes that democracy and rising living standards are inseparable. He proposes, among other important economic measures to supplement our fostering of new and old democratic governments, an energetic policy of stimulating the industrialization of agrarian countries. He repudiates the old fetish that this would reduce or harm our foreign trade. "The truth is," he expounds, ". . . that industrialization automatically raises the standard of living and that this country is always benefited by an increase in the living standards of other peoples. For the higher the living standards the greater is their demand for those products of our own factories and farms which we here are able to produce more efficiently and in better quality than anyone else."

It is unfortunate that the substance of this chapter is not further elaborated and interwoven with the rest of the book. Here we find the perspective of the great possibilities and changes that will follow in the wake of this progressive war, changes that elsewhere Mr. Welles sees roughly in terms of the political and social changes following the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars.

MR. WELLES does not shrink from using the disquieting term "world revolution" to prepare us for these changes. "The people of this country," he writes, "should learn that the world revolution is not something they need dread, but rather something that can be made to redound to their own benefit. The world revolution is already here. For that reason it is desperately necessary that the policy of this country should not be directed toward vain and fatal effort to put back the pieces as best we can, but rather toward seeing that our safety requires that something new can and must be built." His "world revolution" corresponds to Henry Wallace's "century of the common man" that is already taking shape in the people's underground movements and the partisan armies of nations enslaved by Hitler, Hirohito and other, older reactionary forces that held sway over the common people of Europe and Asia.

Another impression this book will make upon the reader is the profound change in mood and outlook of the author between the forlorn mission to Europe in 1940 and his wholesome spirit of optimism and promise of a new world, displayed in 1941 and 1942, the darkest years of the war, as well as in 1943 and 1944 when the final victory was already visible. The proclamation of the Atlantic Charter followed the entrance of the Soviet Union into the war and Teheran came after Stalingrad. Mr. Welles does not call our attention to this sequence of events but he does pay generous tribute to the role of the Soviet Union. Moreover he recognizes the decisive and the progressive role our Russian ally will play in the postwar world when among other things he writes: "In the first postwar years the two greatest powers, both from a material as well as from a military standpoint, will be the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Frank recognition of this fact must underlie any consideration of the policy which this government must pursue toward the Soviet Union." His chapter on the USSR largely follows the evaluation first presented by Joseph Davies. Informed readers will be puzzled by Mr. Welles' distorted views of the Russian Revolution and the early history of the Soviet Union. But this must be taken as a part of the incompleted process of shedding old prejudices and lack of time for the serious study of history, a weakness evident in other parts of the book.

By and large this is a very good book, primarily because it reflects the progressive views on the postwar world of one of the outstanding liberals of the New Deal group, who we trust will play an important role in securing world peace in the next four decisive years.

Story of a Cheat

MARTIN DIES, *by William Gellerman. John Day. $3.*

MARTIN DIES himself has written the perfect finale to Mr. Gellerman's book by withdrawing from the recent Texas primary. This fact, however, fails to detract from the urgency

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of what the book has to say to the American people. With Dies discredited and the leadership of the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities floundering, this book may provide the impetus for finishing off the committee.

Perhaps many were guilty of taking the committee for granted. Dies' repeated revelations about "Reds" in government employ grew mighty familiar. Even the perpetual outraged indignation of the Hearst and McCormick press over accounts of the "Reds'" infiltration into the government began to sound routinized.

Hence it is difficult to imagine how 288 pages largely devoted to Martin Dies' own words or a study of them can be fascinating reading, but it is. Through Mr. Gellerman we rediscover the Dies committee in all its unbelievable chicanery, vulgarity, and deceit. We see it as it grew to power and we see it in retreat. The war finished off Mr. Dies and his careful technique of Red-baiting, and we see how his decline necessarily paralleled progress in the finishing off of Hitler.

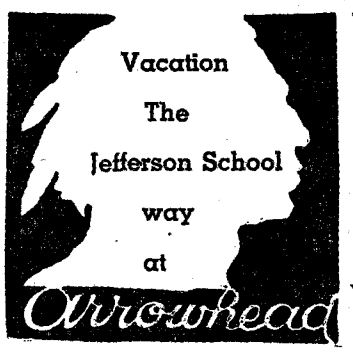
To what extent Dies impressed the average American it is hard to say; certainly the daily press is no criterion (witness the reelection of the President in 1936 and 1940). Certainly he failed in one of his biggest objectives—to prevent just that reelection in 1940. But Gellerman found that "the American people, by identifying themselves with Dies as he has pursued so-called 'subversive' elements into their hidden lairs, have experienced a catharsis somewhat similar to that enjoyed by Germans who identified themselves with Hitler as he persecuted Jews." He found that this diversion prevented their thinking about economic ills.

As the war continued, Dies realized he was going against the mainstream. He had to get up on the House floor and deny he was more frequently and favorably quoted by the Axis radio than any other American. He demanded that the "loose language" of the War Security Act be changed "so that people who are exercising their constitutional rights may do so without fear of intimidation." He pointed out that the Vice President had said publicly that he, Dies, could do no more for Hitler if he were on his payroll. In September of 1942 Dies pleaded with Congress that if there was to be unity, the executive department would have to "meet [the Dies committee] half way." In these days, said Dies, "President Roosevelt needs us all —he needs Martin Dies of Texas."

Dies, in tune with the times, "investigated" the Peace Now movement, "shortly after progressive groups exposed" its activities, Gellerman says. "Dies had discovered something. And this time, as usual, he had followed public opinion; observing a trend in public opinion, he responded to it and attained momentary popularity. But shortly thereafter he was back at his old game of labor-baiting." He attacked the CIO Political Action Committee and its head, Sidney Hillman.

ONE criticism: I think Mr. Gellerman takes too much at their face value the words of Jerry Voorhis (D., Cal.), who while on the Dies committee, abetted Dies more than he hindered him with all his weasel-worded minority reports. He agreed that Communists should be barred from government payrolls, but he didn't like Dies' methods. Martin was too crude for Jerry, just as Joe Starnes (defeated in the Alabama primary) and Noah Mason, retired from the committee, occasionally were too crude for Martin. Yet in justice to the author, he is generous in space and pointed quotations from all who oppose Dies, including Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N.Y.), who could be accused of pulling no punches, and tellingly quotes those who praise him, including Representatives Fish, Rankin, Leland Ford of California, and others.

The knowledge of time's swift passage, and the lavender-and-old-lace flavor of testimony and reports about those terrible Reds—John Dewey and Dr. George S. Counts, Jerome Davis, and others—give the book added zest. The record later was set straight on numerous gentlemen once accused by Dies—and some of them to this day are feverishly trying to out-Red-bait him in an effort to live down any earlier liberalism that wasn't of the nineteenth century (Dies' only approved brand, in his own words). In 1939 Dies was defending Lindbergh. "The argument is made that Lindbergh is a fascist because he appears to have certain ideas. That, in my judgment, is absolutely unjustified. . . ." That was the year he toyed around with the thought of the committee's investigating "the cause of it," "because here is Earl Browder who denies that poverty is the cause of it. In fact, he says that a large number of the members of the Communist Party are regularly employed." It is hard to see why Mr. Dies was surprised at this when so much of his time was spent in trying to get persons he said were Communists,



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or associated with Communists, or dominated by Communists, fired by the government and dropped from union rolls. This is reminiscent of a Chicago *Tribune* story by Arthur Sears Henning on the Democratic convention which makes a distinction between the CIO-PAC, which he finds Communist dominated, and the ALP, which is Communist controlled, as he labels it.

Gellerman's chapter on the committee's investigation of education is one of the most interesting. To his account of Dr. Henry R. Linville's testimony he adds the comment: "Actually, the 'liberals' in the American Federation of Teachers acted along the lines recommended by Dr. Linville and threw out of the organization those locals which they considered 'Communist-controlled.' Calling their enemies 'Communist' or 'Communist-controlled,' they abridged the constitution of the organization, which provided against any discrimination against any group on account of political belief, by throwing them out of the organization, but were able to secure a majority vote when the action was submitted to the membership in the form of a referendum. The situation was much the same as if in 1933 the Democrats had thrown all Republicans out of Congress and submitted their action to the country for referendum vote."

When one witness was claiming John Dewey was a radical, and said in proof, "John Dewey has been attacked by Matthew Woll," this was, said Gellerman, "too much even for Martin Dies."

Altogether, Mr. Gellerman's book is an admirable and documented study, and I hope every American who thinks Diesism is a dead issue will read it.

VIRGINIA GARDNER.

Still Vichy

GALLIC CHARTER, *by J. C. Fernand-Laurent. Little, Brown. $2.50.*

WHEN an ex-Vichyite delivers a damning indictment of the traitor Marshal Petain and his regime, and shows some understanding of his own responsibility for the national disaster of France, it is good and it is useful. But when the conclusions which he draws for the future take the form of an attack upon the program of the Algiers government, utter disregard of the political role of the Council of Resistance in France, and the proposal that the government of France shall be reconstituted under the authority of the very deputies and senators who voted 569 to eighty to hand over the republic to the dictatorship of Petain, Laval, and Hitler—that is bad, and it can be very dangerous.

The author of *Gallic Charter*, J. C. Fernand-Laurent, was before the war a deputy of the party of Louis Marin, the *Federation Republicaine*, to which General Weygand also belonged. That group was of the French Right, fought the People's Front, and was exceeded in reaction only by the monarchists and the other openly fascist groups. He was the editor of the newspaper *Le Jour*, which was sufficiently acceptable to Vichy government for him to continue to edit it from Marseilles for almost a year after the fall of France.

With such a record he bears a heavy responsibility for the degradation of France. To a considerable degree he recognizes this. As a man who seems finally to have learned that the reactionary course he adopted was not only "conservative" but also played into the hands of the enemies of his country, he gives an interesting picture of some aspects of the fascist intrigues which undermined France and destroyed her national independence. He describes the development of his political thinking thus: "I have always tried to reconcile liberty with order . . . and in the past have held demagogy as the worst enemy of democracy. But just as exile makes one love one's country better, so the loss of liberty—or the threat of loss—makes one appreciate all its blessings. No price is too high to pay for it. The worst errors of the crowd are infinitely to be preferred to the tyranny of a single man."

Notwithstanding this statement, which even in its undemocratic language seems to show a desire to be accepted as a democrat, there is something missing in his book. Something is missing—despite the biting portraits of Petain and Laval and their crowd of fascist jackals, despite the exposure of fascist plotting before and after the war, despite the abstractly democratic attitude in the sketch of the history of the Third Republic which serves as background to his argument.

What is missing is confidence in the people, the backbone of democracy. When he writes of the period of 1870 his "democratic" hero is Thiers, the butcher of the Commune; and though he recognizes that the Commune itself was largely actuated by justified national indignation against the betrayal of the government, he nevertheless condemns it root and branch as "extremist." When he discusses the weakness of

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France in 1940, he shows clearly the falsity of the fascist lie that it was labor and the People's Front which were responsible. He places that responsibility primarily upon the fascist-minded monopolists of the *Confederation Generale du Patronat Francais,* the French Employers' Association. But despite the fact that every line of his story proves beyond a doubt that only the organization of the trade unions and the people held back the fascists in the thirties, again he finds in the movement of labor something to be feared and ends by holding them also somehow responsible for the disaster.

It is from this lack of confidence in the people, this lack of a real acceptance of the meaning of democracy that his opposition to the Provisional Government in Algiers springs. He recognizes the role which De Gaulle has played in rallying French resistance and accepts the Algiers committee as a passive trustee for French interests. He objects strenuously, however, to every democratizing act of that government and demands that on the day of liberation the government of France shall be handed back to the members of the old Senate and Chamber of Deputies and the Municipal Councils. No one will disagree with the proposal that as soon as possible after the freeing of France the people shall express their democratic will; but to propose that the organizer of those elections, the provisional government on the soil of France, should consist of that body which voted power to Petain seven to one, is to make a legalistic mockery of democracy.

Every step which will make of the Provisional Government a broader reflection of national unity will be welcomed. Especially the closest connection of that government with the people in metropolitan France is vital. But the true forces there, which supplement the Algiers committee and which represent the French people, are not the deputies of 1940 but the Council of Resistance in France. It is their incorporation in the Provisional Government which will guarantee its universal acceptance as a government of transition to a constitutionally established France.

M. Fernand-Laurent is one of a number of men who have broken with Vichy but refuse to accept the authority of those who have fought for France from the beginning. In some quarters in Britain and America there is a tendency to look toward this group as "preferable" to De Gaulle and those around him as the future government of France. If *Gallic Charter* is representative of the ideas of these men, it can serve as a warning that, however sincere their breach with Hitler and the French Hitlerites, they have learned too little from the last four years to qualify as leaders of a democratic people.

F. J. MEYERS.

Recent Poetry

STATEMENT, *by Don Gordon. Bruce Humphries. $2.*

DON GORDON has precisely defined his verse in his title. These poems are statements in imagery—thoughts and convictions concerning the state of the world, concerning values. And because values are in the process of being made more broadly human, less personal, these poems move from very vague and personal and romantic lyrics with a strong MacLeishian and Wasteland rhythm to colder and clearer idea poems in which the rhythm, still faintly reminiscent of MacLeish, is foreshortened, not allowed its final doleful downbeat. Certainly the later poems are the best. Mr. Gordon gains by forsaking the old images of the conflict between personal heart-beat and mind-denial and facing history to attempt its evaluation.

Don Gordon is a Marxist, and his didactic portraits of the fascist leaders are good newspaper poetry. His portrait of Lenin is something better, for here he is identified emotionally with his subject. His ironic poem "Underground 1935" is both an attack on those who have sold out and an affirmation of faith in those who have not. The poem "Exchange of Heroes" has an excellent idea behind it, not too well conveyed. Again, the poem is a statement, and as such not as moving as it could be:

We appraise stature by awareness—
if we have
Heroes they will be stern among
us—in us—
We are together by hatred, and
by love, we are delivered from
them.

The idea is that we are delivered from the old concepts of the gods, of heroes. But precisely because in understanding the vast number of readers are not delivered of the old ideas, precisely because of the contradictions in belief and the class differences in emotional intensities concerning what the "grave and the permanent" in life and art are, Mr. Gordon like many other poets is constantly forced into argument. He has the job of reinterpreting the old images

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"Ghost after Ghost the old realities depart," as he says, but the truth is, the old realities are *not* quite ghosts, nor are they quite flesh. And since poetry deals with symbols, or images around which certain groups of emotion gather, so long as our social symbols are in state of flux, our poets are likely to find difficulty in communication. Such poems as his "Nor any Word was Said" and "Kronos" are very good. Many other verses have fine lines, but in general Mr. Gordon is having trouble with his medium. He is struggling to write a convincing rhythm and to use emotionally weighted symbols. He is reduced often to argument, not the task of the poet.

EDA LOU WALTON.

Brief Review

INSURGENT SUMMER, by Charlotte Aiken Yarborough. Harper. $2.50.

THE clue to this novel lies in its title. It is a poetic book in a lean and feminine vein of impressionism that speaks intimately of nature and the nuances of personality. With artful economy of image and detail Mrs. Yarborough describes the picturesque fishing village of St. Davids where the Fannings spend their summers in a home overlooking the wharf and the Bay of Fundy flanked by two lights which flash distantly in the night. Centered around the dictatorial Galton Fanning is a story of love and personal revolt which is nicely attuned to the atmospheric village and vaguely suggestive of hidden meanings. Although it lacks breadth, strength, and definition of character, qualities which Mrs. Yarborough must achieve to be more than a deft craftsman, the novel is swiftly paced to provide three hours of exquisite escape.

Heinrich Mann

ONE of the most outstanding anti-Nazi writers, Heinrich Mann—an author who has well deserved the hatred and abuse hurled against him by the Hitlerites—seems to be persecuted by a special misfortune as to his literary way in this country. His excellent novel *Der Untertan,* a prophetic portrait of Hitler drawn as long ago as 1914, is almost unknown to the American public. It was published here under the title *The Patrioteer* many years ago and never got the proper attention. His two historical novels, *The Youth of King Henry* and *King Henry of Navarre,* won critical praise, but few buyers. The rest of his work—great novels, illuminating essays, famous plays—was never issued in American editions. Now, a publisher has undertaken to remedy this—an accomplishment that would ordinarily merit high praise. But the unnamed translator who worked on the satirical novel *Professor Unrat* has done, to put it mildly, a scandalous job. *Small Town Tyrant,* published by Creative Age Press, is a cruelly multilated, deformed *Professor Unrat,* robbed of the charm of irony and satire. Through it American readers will get a thoroughly false impression of the art of Heinrich Mann. Thus the reputation and the effect of the work of a great writer were needlessly and carelessly damaged.

The publisher announces another work by Heinrich Mann. He should take better care and select a translator more competent than the one who did such a miserable job on *Small Town Tyrant.*

O. T. RING.

FILMS

WITH the exception of Paramount's somewhat demented and decidedly commonplace *And the Angels Sing,* MGM's two entries *Dragon Seed* and *Since You Went Away* have had the past two weeks entirely to themselves. As far as *Dragon Seed* is concerned this lack of product is quite all right with the reviewer. *Dragon Seed* is good enough to compensate for a slew of lesser products. *Since You Went Away* fails to make out as strong a case for itself.

Let me begin by placing *Dragon Seed* in its proper rank. Without a doubt it belongs in the very front—a film of dignity, warmth, and sweet sanity—a film with large rewards for the moviegoer. Among said rewards you can list extraordinarily revealing performances by Katherine Hepburn, Walter Huston, who in my opinion is today's first screen actor and amply proves it this time out, Aline MacMahon, Akim Tamiroff, Turhan Bey, and the remainder of a large cast. And directors Jack Conway and Harold S. Bucquet have managed their end of it pretty flawlessly.

But questions of manner and style of facture apart, the film really makes you

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its debtor for an enlightened approach to the Chinese people, for its penetration through the false attitudes that lie between us and an understanding of the Far Eastern world.

Certain complaints have popped up here and there in the press on the score of the film's running length—two hours and twenty-five minutes. Unfortunately some of this fault finding is justified. Of course, not on the score of running time, time being almost infinitely elastic. The fact of the matter is that *Dragon Seed* seems long because of an over-reliance on the spoken word and on the particular character of the words spoken. There is an archaic sweetness about the way in which the characters of the film speak their thoughts that makes for a monotony of a sort. There results a sameness, quite lovely in its way, but after a while palling. Perhaps here is an instance where over-fidelity to the original, Pearl Buck's well known novel, worked to the detriment of the movie. But this reviewer has never yet found a masterpiece without its defects, nor has anyone else to his knowledge. That was true for *Potemkin* as well as *Don Giovanni*. You may take my word that along with whatever defects *Dragon Seed* may possess goes a beauty and a humanity that is always an event to celebrate even in the best of cinema worlds.

I trust that the following bit of editorializing will not be construed as detracting from the value of *Dragon Seed*. It performs a job of great value. Capra's as yet unreleased *Battle of China*, made for the Army's orientation series *Why We Fight*, performs a similar service—"The Chinese people are a noble people, an ancient, cultured people, a people that abhor and resist injustice." It would seem to me, however, that the consolidation of this attitude in the minds of Americans is almost accomplished. What strikes me is the circumstance that thus far not a glimmer, not a ray has struck the screen that casts light on China's greatest problem—the terrible division at the bottom of the Chinese failure of arms. In all other media of information — newspapers, the radio, books—attempts to enlighten Americans so that they could press for a solution of a problem equally their concern with the Chinese, have been made. It would seem to me that, without negating the merits of a *Dragon Seed* and a *Battle of China*, here is another task worthy of the attention of the film industry.

IT's been a standing gripe of this department that although Hollywood's war front films have received the benefit of unstinted outlay and production, almost the reverse has maintained in the field of home front subjects. The latter were invariably and inevitably quicky propositions—two-week shooting schedules, a minimum of sets and mostly leftovers from earlier productions, stereotyped story material and the like. Of course, the picture is never completely black and white and an occasional *Man From Frisco*, minor-budgeted but solid, came along to gladden the heart. This reviewer then ought to be turning handsprings, whooping it up in general, in greeting David O. Selznick's three-and-a-half-million-dollar *Since You Went Away*. I'm sorry but there'll be no handsprings. The film simply doesn't seem honest in its motivations. Or let us put it this way. Selznick may have wanted to hit a real good lick for home morale. But it was secondary in his mind, if that, you can be sure. His first purpose it seems to me, and I'm not infallible (such unexpected modesty) was to turn out the heart-throb of all time. "Everybody likes a good cry. Well, mine will be the best, most expensive of all time, until my next." And what'll make them spill over faster, thinks Mr. Selznick, than a simple down to earth story about a little family — mother and two daughters—and how they long for their father overseas. Mind you, I am not for one moment implying that the plot set-up is unjustified. It's that Mr. Selznick seems to approach the proposition in a callous and rather insultingly calculating fashion. Capitalizing on it rather than feeling it. *Since You Went Away* runs a mere two hours and fifty-one minutes. It shows signs, however, of having run perhaps twice as long in its next-to-final cut. That must have been something. In a way it's a pity the longer version wasn't released. At least film-makers would have been provided with a complete catalogue of the art of tear-jerking that would considerably lighten any research they should ever be called upon to engage in.

JAMES MCCLOUGH.

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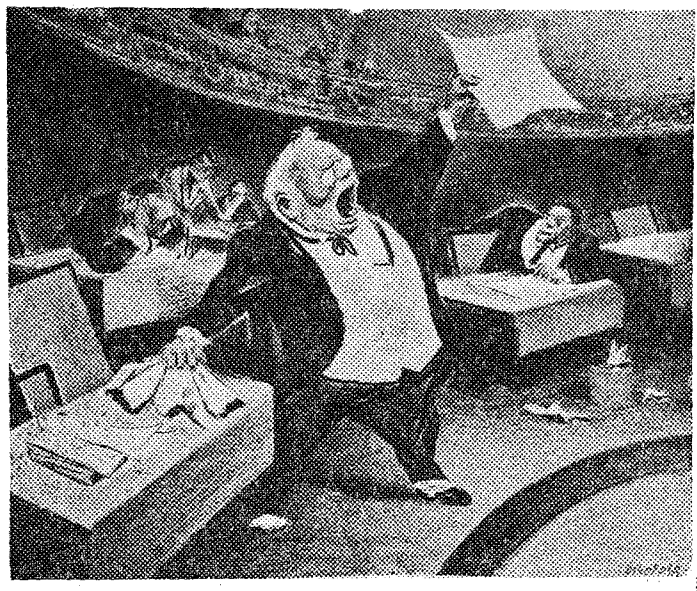

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